

A HISTORY OF THE U. S. S. R.

P A R T T H R E E

C O M P I L E D
by

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CONTENTS

The First Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Chapter I. THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION</i>	
1. Russia's Transition to Imperialism	13
2. The Beginning of the Mass Political Struggle in Russia	18
3. The Struggle to Create a Revolutionary Proletarian Party	30
4. Tsarism and the Bourgeoisie on the Eve of the Revolution	32
<i>Chapter II. THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR AND THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (1904-1907)</i>	
5. The Russo-Japanese War	36
6. January 9, 1905—the Beginning of the Revolution	43
7. The Mass Revolutionary Movement in the Summer of 1905	47
8. The October General Strike	54
9. The National-Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Russia in 1905	62
10. The December Armed Insurrection	66
11. Retreat of the Revolution	74
<i>Chapter III. THE STOLYPIN REACTION (1908-1912)</i>	
12. The Third of June Monarchy	82
13. Stolypin's Agrarian Reform	86
14. The Decline of the Working-Class Movement and Ideological Confusion in the Period of Reaction	91
15. The Bolsheviks During the Period of Reaction	94
16. The Foreign Policy of the Stolypin Government	98
17. The Growth of National and Colonial Oppression During the Period of the Stolypin Reaction	102
<i>Chapter IV. YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY ADVANCE (1912-1914)</i>	
18. The New Upswing of the Revolutionary Movement	104
19. The Fourth State Duma	112

The Second Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution

<i>Chapter V. TSARIST RUSSIA DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-MARCH 1917)</i>

20. Russia's Part in the World War	119
21. Brusilov's Breakthrough	127

CONTENTS

11

Page

Chapter XII. THE CIVIL WAR IN THE BORDER REGIONS

48. The Liberation of Kazakhstan and Central Asia	290
49. Soviet Power Is Established in Transcaucasia	293
50. The Defeat of the Japanese Interventionists	296
51. The Bolshevik Party, the Organizer of Victory at the Fronts	302

The Transition to the Peaceful Work of Economic Restoration

Chapter XIII. THE STRUGGLE TO RESTORE THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY

52. The Soviet State's Transition from War to Peaceful Economic Construction	304
53. The Economic Restoration of Soviet Russia	314
54. The Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	318
55. Lenin's Behests	324
56. The End of the Period of Restoration in the U.S.S.R.	332

Chapter XIV. THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION (1926-1929)

57. Steering a Course for Industrialization	337
58. The Difficulties and Successes of Socialist Industrialization	341
59. The First Five-Year Plan	347

U.S.S.R.—Land of Socialism

Chapter XV. THE U.S.S.R. IN THE PERIOD OF THE STRUGGLE TO COLLECTIVIZE AGRICULTURE (1930-1934)

60. The Struggle for the Socialist Reorganization of Peasant Farming	353
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Chapter XVI. THE STRUGGLE TO COMPLETE THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM. THE STALIN CONSTITUTION

61. The Second Five-Year Plan for the Building of Socialism	365
62. The Great Stalin Constitution	370
63. The U.S.S.R. Enters the Phase of Completing the Building of Socialism	375
64. The Cultural Revolution in the U.S.S.R.	378
65. The Fight for Peace Amidst the Conditions of the Second World War	386

Chapter XVII. THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

395

PRINCIPAL DATES IN THE HISTORY OF THE U.S.S.R. (1894-1946)

423

A HISTORY
of the
U.S.S.R.

THE FIRST BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Chapter I

THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

1. RUSSIA'S TRANSITION TO IMPERIALISM

Tsarist Russia in the System of World Imperialism. By the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, the development of capitalism had finally brought it to its highest and last stage, that of imperialism.

Under imperialism the concentration of production achieves its utmost development. Almost the entire industry of a given country is concentrated in a small number of gigantic enterprises. Individual capitalists and capitalist combines enter into agreement with each other to eliminate free competition, which is thus superseded by the rule of the monopolies. Lenin defined imperialism as monopolist capitalism.

At the same time an intense centralization of capital takes place. A considerable part of the free capital of a country is concentrated in a few banks which, from humble intermediaries in the exchange process become transformed into all-powerful monopolies. The banks utilize their enormous capital for the purpose of promoting the development of industry. Bank capital merges with industrial capital. Lenin called this new form of capital, which by the beginning of the twentieth century became dominant in all the biggest capitalist countries, finance capital.

Under imperialism the struggle for markets leads to an acceleration of the export of capital to backward countries, colonies and semi-colonies. The capitalists strive to monopolize the sources of raw materials. This inevitably gives rise to a struggle for the redivision of the world, to a struggle for new territories. Comrade Stalin has defined this most important feature of imperialism in the following terms: "Imperialism is the export of capital to the sources of raw material, the frenzied struggle for monopolist possession of these sources, the struggle for a redivision of the already divided world, a struggle waged with particular fury by

Russia the omnipotence of capital coalesced with the despotism of tsarism, the aggressiveness of Russian nationalism with tsarism's role of executioner in regard to the non-Russian peoples, the exploitation of entire regions—Turkey, Persia, China—with the seizure of these regions by tsarism, with wars of conquest? Lenin was right in saying that tsarism was 'militarist-feudal imperialism.' Tsarism was the concentration of the worst features of imperialism raised to the second power" (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1945, pp. 16-17).

Industry in Russia was very highly concentrated, but the methods of production remained backward. As regards concentration of production, Russia, at the beginning of the twentieth century, occupied one of the foremost places in the world. In 1900, seven huge plants in the south of Russia produced 37.6 per cent of the entire pig-iron output of the country. Five huge firms in Baku produced 42.6 per cent of the entire output of oil in Russia. Factories employing over a thousand workers constituted 11 per cent of the total number of factories in the country, and they employed about 50 per cent of the total workers in Russia.

The high concentration of industry was facilitated by the development of banks and joint-stock companies. By the beginning of the twentieth century eight big banks controlled 55.7 per cent of the total bank capital in Russia. The banks controlled 50 per cent of the capital invested in the iron and steel industry, 60 per cent of that invested in the coal industry and 80 per cent of that invested in the electrical engineering industry. Bank capital merged with industrial capital.

Large joint-stock companies occupied an important place in the industrial life of the country. Trade, and to some extent industry, was controlled by syndicates, which began to arise in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century and were the typical form in this country of the monopolist capitalist combine. Already at the end of the nineteenth century the Sugar Syndicate compelled all the sugar manufacturers of the country to combine.

At the beginning of the twentieth century many of the Russian banks were under the control of West-European banks. In 1901, French banks established the Northern Bank in Russia. The Deutsche Bank, one of the largest banks in Germany, controlled the Russian Azov-Don Bank. West-European capitalists invested about a billion gold rubles in Russian industries and banks and began to concentrate in their own hands vital branches of industry, such as iron and steel, fuel, chemicals and also several branches of the transport industry.

Cheap labour power, high prices of manufactured goods in the home market and the system of subsidies and protection introduced by the government ensured huge profits for both Russian and foreign capital. In the period from 1895 to 1904 foreign firms drew profits from Russia to the amount of over 830,000,000 gold rubles, a sum exceeding the



A Strike. From a painting by Dzodzov

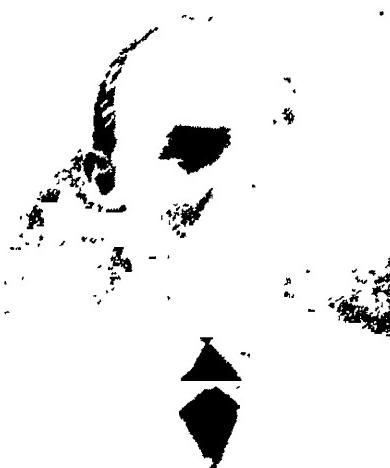
Lenin, while still in exile in Siberia, drew up a plan for the publication of a proletarian newspaper which was to help in building up a revolutionary Social-Democratic party, for without such a party the proletariat could not fight for its emancipation.

Emphasizing the important part a newspaper could play in the work of organizing a party, Lenin, in an article entitled "Where to Begin?" wrote: "A paper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer" (V. I. Lenin, *Select ed Works*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1934, p. 21).

The newspaper was ceaselessly to expose the crimes of tsarism and the treachery of the liberals.

It was impossible, however, to publish such a newspaper in tsarist Russia. Lenin therefore decided to publish the paper abroad, where, at that time, conditions were more favourable for conducting revolutionary activities. The first issue of *Iskra* appeared in December 1900. On its title page it bore the motto "The spark will kindle a flame,"* words taken from the reply which the Decembrists in exile made to Pushkin's appeal to continue the struggle. This motto was *Iskra's* pledge to carry to the end the revolutionary struggle that had been initiated by preceding generations.

Lenin edited *Iskra* in conjunction with Plekhanov and other Social-Democrats. It was printed on tissue paper, smuggled into Russia, and there distributed among the advanced workers. Workers caught reading *Iskra* were liable to imprisonment and exile, but this did not daunt the class-conscious workers. They became extremely devoted to *Iskra*, which they regarded as their guide in their political struggle. They impatiently awaited the appearance of every new issue of the paper, and when they received it they read and re-read it until it was literally worn to tatters. A weaver from St. Petersburg wrote to the paper saying: "When you read the paper you understand why the gendarmes and the police are afraid of us work-



V. I. Lenin in 1900

* "*Iskra*" is the Russian for "spark."—Tr.



The Obukhov Defence, May 1901. From a painting in the Museum of the Revolution, Moscow

An important factor in the political education of the working class was the railway strike in Rostov-on-Don in 1902, which developed into the first general strike in Russia. The workers of nearly all the trades and factories in the city were involved. The conditions of the workers in the Central Workshops of the Vladikavkaz Railway were extremely hard. All the workers, even those who had worked there for over twenty years, were regarded as dayworkers, and according to the tsarist laws they could be discharged at any moment without notice. The payment of wages, low though they were, was systematically delayed. In the beginning of November 1902, the 4,000 workers put forward demands, drawn up for them by the Don Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., for a 9-hour day and a 30 per cent increase in wages. The management rejected the claim and the workers went on strike. The workers of other factories in Rostov joined the strike and about 30,000 were involved. The Don Party Committee organized meetings in a ravine outside the city at which Social-Democratic orators spoke and read out Social-Democratic leaflets. For the first time in the history of Russia the views of the Social-Democrats on the tasks of the working class were openly proclaimed at public meetings. The workers displayed fine staunchness and solidarity. At one meeting a Colonel of Gendarmes appeared and ordered the workers to disperse. The speaker who was addressing the meeting asked: "Shall we obey this order?" "No, we shall not!" came the loud and unanimous reply. "In that case remain where you are and let us continue our talk," said the speaker. Meetings continued to be held. The authorities were disconcerted by the organized resistance of the workers and called out the Cossacks from the near-by villages. But when the Cossacks attempted to disperse the meetings the assembled workers and their wives and children lay flat on the ground. The horses would not step upon the prostrate people and the Cossacks were obliged to retire.

Several days later soldiers fired upon a crowd assembled at a meeting and killed and wounded several workers. So incensed were the



J. V. Stalin in 1902

occurrence, and at their meetings the students put forth political demands. Bogolepov, the Minister of Education, issued "Temporary Regulations" ordering that students who were involved in this unrest be conscripted for the army. Notwithstanding the repressive measures taken against them, the student movement grew. In 1901, following the example of the workers, the students and radical intelligentsia in St. Petersburg held a demonstration near the Kazan Cathedral. The demonstrators were brutally assaulted by the police. In 1901-1902 a general students' strike affected all higher educational establishments and 30,000 students were involved.

The Zubatov Stratagem. The tsarist government realized that it could not cope with the working class by means of repressive measures alone. Scared by the steady growth of the revolutionary working-class struggle it tried to check the mass working-class movement with the aid of police-formed workers' organizations. Playing upon the economic needs of the workers, agents of Zubatov, the Chief of the Moscow Secret Police, called meetings of the more backward sections of them and told them that the tsar would support their peaceful economic demands if they refrained from organizing strikes and took no part in political struggle.

Zubatov societies were formed in Moscow, Minsk and Odessa. In Moscow Zubatov's agents succeeded, on February 19, 1902, the anniversary of the abolition of serfdom, in organizing a monarchist demonstration of workers to the monument of Alexander II. Soon, however, this insidious movement utterly collapsed. The revolutionary Social-Democrats, followers of Lenin, exposed the fact that the police were behind the Zubatov organizations. In spite of the opposition of Zubatov's agents, the workers backed their economic demands by strikes. Fearing that he would lose his influence over the workers, Zubatov sent police officials to the factory owners and compelled them to make concessions to the workers. This roused the ire of the Moscow factory owners and they protested against Zubatov's activities. One of them, a Frenchman named Goujon, complained to the French Ambassador that Zubatov was supporting a strike at his plant. The ambassador communicated this complaint to the Russian government and soon after the Zubatov organizations in Moscow were dissolved.

The failure of the Zubatov stratagem as an attempt on the part of the government to "harmonize" the economic needs and demands of the workers with the "aims of the Russian autocracy" was most vividly revealed by the general strike in Odessa in 1903. Here an economic strike which had been organized with the help of Zubatov agents developed into a political strike. Even the most backward workers became convinced that the Zubatov organizations were a police affair and began to go over to the side of Social-Democracy. Plehve, the Minister of the Interior, made haste to dissolve these organizations. The chief

THE FIRST BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

60 per cent of the entire land in the gubernia. The industrial crisis still further aggravated the poverty of the peasants as it deprived them of the opportunity of finding work in the towns. The peasants rose in revolt, raided the landlords' estates and shared their grain stocks and cattle among themselves. Landlords were killed by peasants, who set fire to their farm buildings and other property.

Troops were called out against the peasants. After a wholesale flogging many of them were put on trial and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Fines were imposed upon them for the benefit of the landlords amounting to 800,000 rubles. Notwithstanding the stern punishment that was inflicted upon the peasants in the Ukraine, the revolutionary peasant movement spread to other gubernias and was particularly intense in the Saratov Gubernia. Here the peasants fought the landlords by setting fire to their mansions, trespassing on their land, cutting down their trees, setting fire to their crops, and so forth. Peasant riots also broke out in the Tambov, Voronezh and Ekaterinoslav Gubernias, and also in the Caucasus.

In 1903 the peasant movement assumed an exceptionally mass and militant character in Guria where, influenced by the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks, it assumed a political character. The peasants refused to deliver half their crops to the landlords, refused to pay the tithes for the maintenance of the clergy, refused to pay taxes, would not recognize the tsar's officials and refused in a body to perform labour rent. To assist the Transcaucasian landlords the tsarist government sent in Cossacks who dealt cruelly with the peasants; it also deported many of the peasants to Siberia.

Taken on the whole, however, the peasant revolt of 1902 did not yet assume the character of an organized mass movement. Lenin attributed this failure to the following reasons: "The peasant revolt was crushed because it was a revolt of an ignorant, unconscious mass, a revolt without definite and clear *political* demands, i. e., without demands for a change in the system of state. The peasant revolt was crushed because it took place *without preparation*. The peasant revolt was crushed because the rural proletarians had not yet formed an alliance with the urban proletarians. These are the three reasons for the first failure of the peasants" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. V, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 312).

Lenin dealt with the conditions of the peasants in Russia in his pamphlet *To the Rural Poor* in which he called upon the peasants to wage a determined struggle under the leadership of the workers against the tsar and the landlords.

by Lenin and Stalin. Among *Iskra's* agents, as the supporters of Lenin were then called, were N. E. Bauman and I. V. Babushkin. After winning the support of the majority of the Social-Democratic Committees in Russia, the *Iskra* organization set to work to prepare the Second Congress of the Party. This congress took place abroad in July and August 1903, (in Brussels, and later in London).

The congress adopted the Party program as presented by *Iskra*. The opportunists at the congress opposed this program, in particular, the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But Lenin answered them with crushing effect. The sharpest disagreements at the congress arose over the formulation of point 1 of the Party Rules. Lenin's formulation of point 1 read as follows: "A member of the Party is one who accepts its program, and supports it both financially and by his personal participation in the work of one of its organizations." The formulation proposed by the opportunist Martov called merely for the acceptance of the program and the rendering of financial support, but did not make it obligatory to participate in the work of one of the Party organizations. Unlike Lenin's formulation, the one proposed by Martov opened the door of the Party to unstable non-proletarian elements. With the object of preventing the Party from being swamped by petty-bourgeois elements the Leninists made strict demands on those who wished to join the Party.

In appraising the essence of that struggle Comrade Stalin wrote: "By their formula on Party membership the Bolsheviks wanted to set up an organizational barrier against the influx of non-proletarian elements into the Party. The danger of such an influx was very real at that time in view of the bourgeois-democratic character of the Russian revolution" (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1945, p. 381).

The Leninists stood for a militant revolutionary proletarian party; the Martovites stood for a petty-bourgeois opportunist party.

At the elections of the central bodies of the Party, Lenin's supporters obtained a majority and from that time onwards were called Bolsheviks. The opportunist Martovites were left in the minority and were thenceforth called Mensheviks.* The Mensheviks, who took the place of the Economists, reflected the interests of the non-proletarian, petty-bourgeois strata of society.

The Second Congress of the Party played an extremely important role in the history of the Russian and international proletariat. At this congress was formed the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party

* The Russian word for "majority" is "*bolshevistvo*" and the Russian word for "minority" is "*menshivistvo*," hence the respective terms Bolshevik and Menshevik.—Tr.

the instructions and in the interest of the tsarist secret police and betrayed the participants in projected acts of terrorism to the gendarmes.

The Socialist-Revolutionary Party claimed to be a socialist party and to champion the interests of the "working people" as a whole, drawing no distinction between the peasant poor and the kulaks. Actually, the Socialist-Revolutionaries were not socialists at all, but represented the Left wing of the bourgeois democrats. The bourgeois liberals secretly supported and financed the terrorist activities of the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

In 1902, Lenin wrote that the Socialist-Revolutionary Party was a party of "revolutionary adventurism" that stood apart from the working-class movement. He also said that "without the working people bombs are utterly useless." The Socialist-Revolutionaries picked out and adhered to everything that was fallacious in the theory and practice of the former Narodniks.

The Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party adopted a resolution on the Socialist-Revolutionaries which stated that it "regards their activities as harmful not only to the political development of the proletariat but also to the general democratic struggle against absolutism."

Tsarism in the Struggle against the Movement for National Liberation. Influenced by the development of capitalism and the proletarian class struggle at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, the oppressed non-Russian nationalities which constituted 57 per cent of the entire population of Russia began to awaken to active political life. This awakening found expression in the formation of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist parties.

Tsarism cruelly suppressed the nascent movement for the liberation of the oppressed nations in Russia. Towards the beginning of the twentieth century national oppression became still more intense: the remnants of the cultural institutions of the oppressed nationalities were destroyed, instruction in the native languages in schools was prohibited, and the national organizations of the non-Russian peoples were persecuted.

Characterizing the colonial policy of tsarism, Comrade Stalin wrote: "Tsarism deliberately cultivated patriarchal and feudal oppression in the border regions in order to keep the masses in a state of slavery and ignorance. Tsarism deliberately settled the best areas in the border regions with colonizers in order to force the natives into the worst areas and to intensify national enmity. Tsarism restricted and at times simply suppressed the native schools, theatres and educational institutions in order to keep the masses in intellectual darkness. Tsarism frustrated the initiative of the best members of the native popu-

of the P.P.S. It demanded autonomy for Byelorussia and her amalgamation with Lithuania.

In 1897, a Social-Democratic league, known as the Bund, was formed among the Jewish artisans in Poland, Lithuania and Byelorussia. The Bund was represented at the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. and there it demanded recognition as the sole representative of all the Jewish workers in Russia, no matter where they resided. Had this nationalistic demand been conceded, it would have meant isolating the Jewish proletariat from the Russian proletariat and subordinating it to the influence of the Jewish bourgeoisie. The Second Congress rejected the demand and the Bund withdrew from the Party.

In 1900, thanks to the influence of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations in Western Ukraine, a bourgeois nationalist party was formed in the Ukraine known as the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (R.U.P.). This party demanded Ukrainian independence under the protectorate of Austria.

In Georgia there was a party of Georgian Mensheviks, headed by Noah Jordania, which advocated unity among all Georgians irrespective of the class they belonged to.

All these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist parties adopted national-reformist programs, and while striving for increased political rights and privileges for their native landlords and bourgeoisie they fought against the workers and peasants of their respective nations. Only the Bolsheviks led the revolutionary mass struggle of the working people of all the oppressed nationalities in tsarist Russia and demanded the complete abolition of all national oppression. They issued the slogan of the right of nations to self-determination, including the right to secede from tsarist Russia and to form independent states.

The Bolsheviks incessantly maintained that the oppressed nationalities could achieve genuine national liberation only as the result of the overthrow of tsarism and the abolition of the power of the landlords and capitalists. Hence, they called upon the working people of all the nationalities in Russia to rally round the Russian proletariat, the vanguard fighter and leader of the revolutionary struggle of all the numerous nationalities inhabiting Russia. Lenin and Stalin denounced the efforts of the nationalist parties to turn the working people of the oppressed nationalities away from joint struggle with the entire Russian people for democracy and for Socialism.

ers. This revolt was known as the Boxer, or Big Fist, Rebellion. The united forces of the imperialists, including those of tsarist Russia, were flung against the rebels, captured Peking and sacked the city. While crushing the rebellion, tsarist troops, on the pretext of protecting the Chinese Eastern Railway, occupied the whole of Manchuria, which the tsarist high government officials had already given the derisive nickname of "Yellow Russia."

A group of adventurers belonging to the circle that was close to Nicholas II formed a company which obtained a timber concession on the Korean River Yalu bordering on Manchuria. This concession was intended to serve as a *place d'armes* for the seizure of Korea. Port Arthur was converted into a naval fortress and base for the Russian Pacific Fleet, for the construction of which the tsarist government in 1899 allocated 90,000,000 rubles.

Meanwhile, Japan, which in 1902 concluded a military alliance with Great Britain against Russia, was actively preparing for war. Imperialist Japan strove not only to squeeze tsarist Russia out of Korea and Manchuria, but also to seize Sakhalin and the whole of the Russian Far East. British diplomacy set out to activize Russian policy in Europe and in the Near East, where the conflict between the German and Austro-Hungarian imperialists and Russia would inevitably bring about a rapprochement between Russia and Great Britain against Germany. Wilhelm II, in his turn, tried hard to tempt Nicholas II with the prospect of the advantages to be gained from friendship with Germany, in the hope of intensifying Anglo-Russian antagonisms and of destroying the alliance between Russia and France.

Among other things Russian tsarism regarded war as a means of diverting the attention of the workers and peasants of Russia from their real enemies, the landlords and capitalists. The police dictator Plehve said: "To avert a revolution in Russia we need a little victorious war."

The Outbreak and the Course of the War. Knowing that Russia was unprepared for war, Japan decided to strike a sudden blow. Spies provided the Japanese High Command with an exact plan of the disposition of the Russian warships in Port Arthur. On the night of January 26, 1904, when the entire commanding personnel of the Russian fleet were at a ball to celebrate the birthday of the wife of Admiral Stark, the Commander-in-Chief, Japanese destroyers, without a declaration of war, stole up under cover of darkness to the outer roadstead of Port Arthur where the Russian squadron was lying at anchor, and blew up three of the finest Russian warships: the battleships *Retvizan* and *Cesarevich* and the cruiser *Pallada*. In the morning of January 27 the Japanese bombarded Port Arthur from the sea and damaged four more warships. That same day a Japanese squadron damaged two Russian warships that were trying heroically to

together with 500 of the 700 men who constituted the crew. The famous Russian battle scene painter V. V. Vereshchagin, who was on board the *Petropavlovsk* at the time, perished too.

In April 1904, in a battle on the river Yalu near Chiu-Lien-Ch'eng, a Russian force of 20,000 men that was barring the Japanese advance into Manchuria was defeated. In May the Japanese cut the lines of communication between Port Arthur and Manchuria and the fortress was thus invested on both land and sea. A Japanese army of 80,000 men conducted operations against Port Arthur and another army moved north into Manchuria. In August 1904 the Russian fleet that was blockaded in Port Arthur left the fortress and engaged the Japanese fleet in an endeavour to break through to Vladivostok. At first the battle went in favour of the Russians, but in the end the numerical superiority of the Japanese forces told and part of the fleet returned to Port Arthur, while those vessels which succeeded in breaking through made for neutral ports.

In August 1904, a battle lasting several days was fought near Liao-Yang. The Russian troops repulsed all the furious attacks launched by the Japanese upon the main Liao-Yang positions. The Japanese command was already preparing to retreat southward when Kuropatkin, having received false information to the effect that the Japanese were outflanking the Russian army on the left, himself ordered a retreat in spite of the fact that he still had two fresh army corps in reserve, whereas the Japanese had already expended all their reserves.

In September and October 1904, a second big battle took place near the river Shaho which lasted for nearly two weeks. The Russian troops held their position, but this time too the Russian Command failed to take advantage of the situation to achieve victory.

Port Arthur continued its resistance for eleven months. The defence of the fortress was organized by the talented General Kondratenko, a military engineer, who was appointed chief of the land defence. On his initiative improved fortifications and blindages were erected and the manufacture of grenades and observation balloons was organized on the spot. The guns and ammunition were removed from the sunken warships and utilized for the land defences, and the crews of these ships were transferred to the land. General Kondratenko appreciated the enormous political and military importance of Port Arthur and devoted all his skill and resourcefulness to the task of holding it. He was popular among the soldiers, roused their fighting spirit, and awarded military decorations to those who displayed heroism. General Stessel, the Commander-in-Chief of the fortress, however, proved to be a traitor and did all in his power to hinder the defence. On December 20, 1904, he treacherously surrendered Port Arthur. During the period of the siege the defenders of the fortress inflicted

In an article entitled "The Fall of Port Arthur" published on January 1, 1905, Lenin, summing up the military and political bankruptcy of tsarism, wrote: "The fleet and the fortress, the field fortifications and the land forces proved to be obsolete and useless.

"The connection between the military organization of the country and its entire economic and cultural system has never been so close as it is at the present time" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. VII, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 48).

Lenin drew the conclusion that the military defeat of Russia must become the starting point of a revolutionary crisis in the country and that the capitulation of Port Arthur was the prologue to the capitulation of tsarism. He directly connected the further development of the revolution with the defeat of tsarism. "The cause of Russian freedom and of the struggle of the Russian (and world) proletariat for Socialism," he wrote, "depends on the military defeats suffered by the autocracy" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. VII, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 49). He called upon the revolutionary proletariat tirelessly to oppose the war. In this predatory and shameful war, Lenin and the Bolsheviks stood for the defeat of the tsarist government, for such a defeat would facilitate the victory of the revolution over tsarism.

Comrade Stalin urged the need for the defeat of Russian tsarism in this war. In one of the leaflets he wrote against the war, he said: "We want this war to be more lamentable for the Russian autocracy than was the Crimean War.... Then it was serfdom that fell, now, as a result of this war, we will bury the child of serfdom—the autocracy and its foul secret police and gendarmes!" (Beria, *On the History of the Bolshevik Organizations in Transcaucasia*, Moscow, 1939, p. 45.)

The Revolutionary Crisis on the Eve of 1905. The Russo-Japanese War greatly aggravated the economic situation in Russia. The war called for the expenditure of enormous funds, and this expenditure was met by foreign loans obtained on exorbitant terms and by the raising of indirect taxes. As a consequence the cost of living rose considerably. The calling up of the reserves for the army struck a heavy blow at the peasant farms, for it deprived them of manpower.

The industrial crisis became more acute, particularly in the textile industry. The capitalists cut wages. Strikes became more frequent.

The growth of the working-class movement and the defeat tsarism suffered in the Far East revived the opposition of the liberal bourgeoisie, because, for one thing, they were afraid that the government would not be able to cope with the growing working-class and peasant movement. In 1904, Finnish nationalists assassinated Bobrikov, the dictator of Finland. In July of that year Socialist-Revolutionaries assassinated Plehve. After its defeat in the battle of Liao-



Putilov Strikers at the Factory Gates in January 1905

promised to make some slight concessions, but declared that it would not permit any changes in the autocratic state system. But tsarism was incapable of averting the revolution.

6. JANUARY 9, 1905—THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION

Bloody Sunday. The approach of the revolution compelled the tsarist government to seek every possible means of diverting the workers from the political struggle. One of their instruments for the achievement of this object was the priest Gapon, an agent provocateur, who, on the instruction of the secret police, attempted to repeat the Zubatov experiment and in 1904 formed the Assembly of Russian Factory Workers. This association organized monarchist lectures, theatrical performances and concerts for workers.

On January 3, 1905, the management of the Putilov Works (now the Kirov Works) discharged four workers. Next day 12,000 of their fellow-employees came out on strike in protest against these dismissals. The workers of other plants in St. Petersburg joined the strike and on January 8 the strike became a general one, involving 150,000 workers.

To keep the workers away from the revolutionary struggle the priest Gapon put forward a treacherous plan to draw up a petition to the tsar in the name of the St. Petersburg workers and to get all

shops and seized the arms. In the afternoon of January 9, the first barricades were erected on Vasilyevsky Island, a district of St. Petersburg. The workers said: "The tsar gave it to us; we'll now give it to him!" Collisions with the police occurred in the streets. Cries were raised: "Down with the autocracy!"

On January 9, 1905, the working class received a great lesson in civil war. As Lenin wrote: "... The revolutionary education of the proletariat made more progress in one day than it could have made in months and years of drab, humdrum, wretched existence" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1934, p. 289).

Lenin heard of the events of Bloody Sunday in Geneva, where he was living at that time in exile. In an article entitled: "The Beginning of the Revolution in Russia," he appraised these events in the following terms: "The eyes of the proletariat of the whole world are turned with feverish impatience towards the proletariat of the whole of Russia. The overthrow of tsarism in Russia, begun so valiantly by our working class, will be the turning point in the history of all countries" (*Ibid.*, p. 292). Lenin called upon the Party and the working class immediately to commence preparations for an armed insurrection.

Protest Strikes Throughout the Country. This massacre of the workers by order of the tsar called forth protest strikes all over the country. In January alone 440,000 workers were involved in strikes, compared with only 430,000 throughout the whole of the preceding ten years. As Lenin wrote: "It is this awakening of tremendous masses of the people to political consciousness and revolutionary struggle that marks the historic significance of January 22, 1905" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1934, p. 2).

On January 11, strikes broke out in Moscow whence they spread to the textile districts around Moscow and to Ivanovo-Voznesensk.

Strikes also broke out in Poland, Finland, the Ukraine, the Caucasus and Siberia. In one of the leaflets he issued in the beginning of 1905, Comrade Stalin wrote that as soon as the signal was heard from St. Petersburg the workers of all nationalities, "as though by common consent, responded with unanimous fraternal greeting to the call of the St. Petersburg workers and boldly challenged the autocracy" (Beria, *On the History of the Bolshevik Organizations in Transcaucasia*, Moscow, 1939, p. 65).

On January 18, a general strike of the Tiflis workers commenced under Comrade Stalin's leadership. Bolshevik agitators distributed among the strikers leaflets in the Georgian, Armenian and Russian languages, calling upon them to prepare for an armed insurrection. In response to the appeal of the Caucasian Federal Committee of the Party, the workers of Baku, Batum, Chiaturi and other industrial centres in Transcaucasia also came out on strike. Everywhere meetings and dem-

intimidate the radically-minded youth. But these pogroms and assaults only served to intensify popular hatred of tsarism.

In February 1905, tsarism sustained military defeat in the battle of Mukden. On this occasion, too, the tsarist army command failed to take advantage of a series of partial successes which the Russian troops had achieved in the battle. The Russian army lost 120,000 men (out of a total of 300,000) in killed, wounded and taken prisoner. It was evident that tsarism had lost the war against Japan. Terrified by the steady growth of the revolution, and losing support even among the propertied classes, which did not believe that tsarism was capable of coping with the revolution, the autocracy endeavoured to strike a bargain with the bourgeoisie by offering slight political concessions. In February 1905, a tsar's rescript, addressed to Bulygin, the Minister of the Interior, was promulgated, instructing the latter to convene a conference to draw up a scheme for the establishment of an advisory Duma.

The liberal bourgeoisie readily entered into this deal with the government and submitted its extremely moderate proposals for a constitution. The constitutional proposals of the "Liberation" group and of the Zemstvo congress (held in April 1905), left the monarchist form of government intact and provided for the creation of a two-chamber parliament, the upper chamber to consist of representatives of the propertied classes. The liberals were willing to abandon universal suffrage. At the Zemstvo congress, 54 delegates out of the 120 voted against universal suffrage.

Lenin denounced this "constitutional haggling," as he described this bargaining between the liberals and tsarism, and again and again called upon the workers to prepare for an armed insurrection.

7. THE MASS REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE SUMMER OF 1905

The Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. The effect of the disruptive tactics that were pursued by the Mensheviks was that at the decisive stage in the development of the revolution the Party was split in two and lacked a single leadership and a common Party line in tactics. Formally, the Party was united, but actually the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks very much resembled two separate parties, each having its own central body and its own leading newspaper.

For the purpose of drawing up the Party's tactics in the revolution and of setting up leading bodies for the Party, the Bolsheviks convened the Third Congress of the Party. This congress was held in London in April 1905. The Mensheviks convened a conference of their own which was at bottom the party congress of a section that had broken away from the R.S.D.L.P.

resolved to support the agrarian demands of the peasantry, including that for the confiscation of all the landlords' land.

The congress called upon the peasants to set up peasant committees for the purpose of seizing the landlords' land in a revolutionary manner. It particularly emphasized the importance of the general strike as a weapon in the struggle. Urging the necessity of an armed insurrection for the purpose of achieving the victory of the revolution, it called upon the Party organizations to proceed forthwith to prepare for such an insurrection.

The congress elected a Bolshevik Central Committee, headed by Lenin, and adopted the newspaper *Proletary* as the central organ of the Party.

Thus, the Third Congress set up a Bolshevik general staff to lead the revolution, armed the Party with a strategical plan for developing the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, and formulated the main tactics of the proletarian party in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Herein lies the enormous historical importance of the Third Congress of the Party.

Lenin expounded the Bolshevik tactics in a work of genius *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, which appeared in July 1905.

The Mensheviks and Trotskyite agents of the bourgeoisie tried to frustrate Lenin's plan for developing the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

The view spread by the Mensheviks was that as the revolution in Russia was a bourgeois revolution it must be led by the bourgeoisie, as had been the case previously in the West. The proletariat, asserted the Mensheviks, should ally itself not with the peasantry, but with the liberal bourgeoisie; it should march not at the head of the peasantry, but at the tail of the bourgeoisie.

Tsushima. Before Port Arthur fell the Baltic Fleet was sent on a long voyage to the Far East round the coast of Africa.

In an article entitled "A Debacle" Lenin wrote: "A great armada, as huge, as unwieldy, as absurd, as impotent and as monstrous as the entire Russian empire itself, set out on its voyage, squandering heaps of money on coal and maintenance, and evoking universal ridicule in Europe" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. VII, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 335). This "great armada" was destroyed by the Japanese fleet on May 14, 1905 (the anniversary of the coronation of Nicholas II) in a battle off the island of Tsushima, in the Korea Straits.

In this unequal battle, which was more like a massacre, the Russian sailors fought with unexampled staunchness and courage. The obsolete cruiser *Dimitri Donskoy* bravely held at bay ten up-to-date Japanese cruisers and put two of them out of action. It was called upon to sur-

strike, the Social-Democratic workers summed up the struggle as follows: "The strike has taught us a great deal. Before it many of us were so ignorant that we did not want either to understand, to appreciate or to think about our conditions.... Do we not now see who is helping our enemies, the masters? We have realized that as long as power is in the hands of the tsar, who thinks only about the capitalists, we shall never be able to improve our conditions."

A determined struggle against tsarism was also waged by the workers in the industrial towns of Poland. The general strike which broke out in Lodz in June 1905, developed into an armed clash. Barricades were erected in the streets and for three days a regular battle was fought between the workers and the tsar's troops. Lenin regarded the Lodz battles as the first armed action of the workers of Russia. In August a collision between police and demonstrators occurred in Byelostok, during which thirty-six persons were killed and many were wounded. The strikers took to arms to wage a determined struggle against tsarism.

Thus, in the course of the strike movement the conditions were created for passing to the highest form of struggle—armed insurrection. The bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905 was proletarian both in the methods by which the struggle was conducted and in the fact that the proletariat played the leading role in it.

The Peasant Movement. The strikes of the industrial workers after Bloody Sunday stimulated the revolutionary movement in the rural districts. In the beginning of 1905, the Bolsheviks conducted extensive propaganda work among the peasants and widely distributed leaflets among them. The peasant movement broke out almost simultaneously in the central regions of Russia, in Georgia and in the Baltic Provinces. In February 1905, the peasants in the Orel, Kursk, Chernigov and other gubernias began to seize the landlords' estates. In the spring of 1905, the mass peasant movement began to spread all over the country. The peasants wrecked landlords' mansions, seized their meadows and hay crops, and ploughed up their lands. Often, at night, the tocsin was sounded, or a haystack burst into flames—this was the signal for gen-



F. A. Afanasyev ("Father")

Russia. The revolutionary struggle of the Abkhazian peasants in Gudau-ti was led by Orjonikidze.

During the spring ploughing, strikes broke out among the agricultural labourers. These strikes assumed particularly wide dimensions in Latvia, Estonia, Poland, and Byelorussia. The Latvian and Estonian labourers drove out the landlords, seized their estates and ploughed up the land for themselves.

In the summer of 1905, the All-Russian Peasant Union was formed. Notwithstanding the fact that the Socialist-Revolutionaries and liberals had succeeded in capturing the central leadership of this Peasant Union, Lenin held that it was of great importance for the organization of the peasants. ". . . Before the victory of the peasant insurrection, and for such a victory, the Peasant Union is a powerful and vital organization," he wrote. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. IX, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 129.)

The peasants joined the Union in whole villages. The Socialist-Revolutionaries wanted to subordinate the peasant movement to the leadership of the bourgeoisie, but the Bolsheviks combated their efforts to do so. The peasant movement did not, however, spread all over the country at that time; in the spring of 1905 it had developed in only 85 counties, one-seventh of the total number of counties in Russia.

The Revolt on the Battleship *Potemkin*. Tsarism had but one prop left—the armed forces; but the defeat in the war and the revolutionary struggle that was being waged by the workers and peasants stimulated revolutionary temper in the army and in the navy. The revolt of the crew of the battleship *Potemkin* of the Black Sea Fleet clearly revealed that even this prop of tsarism was shaken. The sailors of the navy, among whom there were many industrial workers, were the most class-conscious and revolutionary section of the armed forces.

In 1905 the Bolsheviks made energetic preparations for a general revolt in the Black Sea Fleet which was timed to break out during the assembly of the fleet for training purposes at the Island of Tendra, between Odessa and Sevastopol. The revolt on the *Potemkin*, however, broke out spontaneously on June 14, 1905, before the whole fleet had assembled. Its immediate cause was the issue to the men of borshch cooked with decayed meat that teemed with maggots. The crew refused to eat the borshch. The commander assembled the ringleaders, ordered a tarpaulin to be thrown over them and then ordered them to be shot. In protest against this order the whole crew mutinied. A collision occurred between the officers and the men during which the sailor Vakulinchuk, the leader of the mutiny, was killed by a senior officer. The leadership passed to another revolutionary sailor named Matyushenko. The men killed many of the officers and seized the battleship.

a bargain with the bourgeoisie. With this object the tsar's government, on August 6, 1905, passed a law for the convocation of a State Duma. In conformity with this law the proposed State Duma was to be not a legislative but an advisory body; it was to have the right to express an opinion on the bills submitted to it by the government, but not to pass or reject them. Thus, the law of August 6 left the autocratic system completely intact. This Duma was referred to as the Bulygin Duma, after Bulygin, the Minister who had drafted the law. The landlords, who were an insignificant minority in the country, were to receive 85 per cent of all the seats. The workers were given no electoral rights at all. The bourgeoisie welcomed this Bulygin Duma and called upon the people to take an active part in the elections. The Mensheviks supported the liberals. The Bolsheviks alone called upon the people to boycott the elections to the Bulygin Duma. The further development of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, led by the Bolsheviks, prevented the convocation of this Duma.

The Peace of Portsmouth. After the rout of the tsar's fleet at Tsushima, the international bourgeoisie, fearing the further growth of the revolution in Russia, strongly urged the tsar's government to conclude peace. In their opinion peace with Japan would help to restore "internal peace" in Russia, particularly if the tsarist government made some moderate constitutional concessions to the people. On the other hand, the United States was apprehensive that Japan would become too strong and therefore urged the Japanese government to moderate its demands upon Russia.

Greatly exhausted and weakened by the war, Japan herself was interested in the speedy conclusion of peace.

At Japan's request, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, acted as mediator in the negotiations between Russia and Japan.

To discuss the situation the tsar's government, on May 24 (June 6), 1905, called a council of war over which the tsar presided. The majority of those present at the council were in favour of concluding peace. "Internal well-being is more important for us than victory. We are living in an abnormal condition: we must restore to Russia her internal repose," they said.

The government consented to open peace negotiations and appointed a peace delegation, headed by Count Witte, who enjoyed the confidence of the bourgeois governments of Europe and America. The peace negotiations were opened in the small town of Portsmouth, Maine, in the United States.

Japan presented very harsh peace terms. She demanded the Liaotung Peninsula, the South Manchurian Railway up to Harbin, the Island of Sakhalin, and complete control of Korea. In addition, she counted on receiving a large indemnity from Russia.



The All-Russian Strike in October 1905. *From a painting by Savitsky*

guard. Two of the workers were killed, eight were wounded and 192 were arrested.

The September strikes in Moscow raised the struggle to a higher stage. Lenin stated that the events in Moscow marked the beginning of the insurrection. "The outbreak of the insurrection has been crushed again. Again: long live the insurrection!" he wrote (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. VIII, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 282).

On October 7, the railwaymen on the Moscow-Kazanskaya Railway went on strike, and on October 8, the men on all the other railways in Russia joined them. On October 11, the railway strike developed into a nation-wide general strike in which the workers of all trades were involved. The intelligentsia—schoolteachers, office employees, lawyers, engineers and students—joined the workers. The strikers demanded the convocation of a Constituent Assembly. The tsar's government tried to suppress the strike by armed force. On October 14, Trepov, the Governor General of St. Petersburg and virtual dictator of Russia, issued the order: "Don't fire blank shot; spare no bullets." But the government was already powerless to stop the strike.

Nearly a million industrial workers, not counting railwaymen, and several hundred thousand office employees, were involved in the Octo-

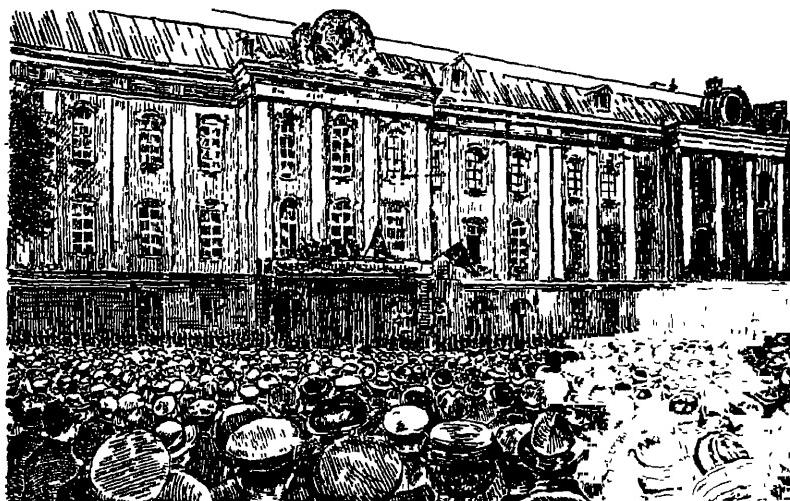
began openly to oppose the revolutionary masses. The big industrial and commercial bourgeoisie formed an organization called the Union of October Seventeenth (known as the Octobrists). The Right-wing Zemstvo-ites and the various commercial and industrial "parties" that sprang up in 1905 joined this organization.

The liberal Zemstvo-ites and the members of the Emancipation League officially inaugurated the already legally existing Constitutional-Democratic Party (known as the Cadets). The Cadets expressed the strivings of those sections of the bourgeoisie which were less interested than the Octobrists in feudal methods of exploitation. Unlike the avowedly reactionary Octobrist bourgeoisie, the Cadets tried to manoeuvre between the revolution and the autocracy. When the tsar's manifesto was promulgated, the Cadets declared the revolution at an end and called for co-operation with the Witte government.

The Mensheviks were also pleased with the manifesto of October 17. The leaders of the Georgian Mensheviks in Tiflis even stated at meetings: "There is no longer an autocracy, the autocracy is dead. Russia is entering the ranks of constitutional monarchist states."

Comrade Stalin emphatically denounced this piece of Menshevik deception. On the day the manifesto of October 17 was promulgated he said at a meeting in Tiflis: "What do we need in order to really win? We need three things: first—arms, second—arms, third—arms and arms again."

The Bolsheviks urged the masses to place no confidence in the tsar's manifesto and to prepare for armed insurrection.



Mass Meeting Outside the St. Petersburg University in October 1905

known as "Father." In Moscow the Black Hundreds arranged the assassination of the prominent Bolshevik N. E. Bauman, who had only just been released from the Taganskaya prison. Bauman's funeral developed into a huge revolutionary demonstration in which several hundred thousand people took part. These arrests, pogroms and assassination of revolutionaries served as striking illustrations of what the masses could expect from the manifesto of October 17. About this manifesto the people sang the ditty:

*"The tear caught bright, issued a Manifest:
Liberty for the dead, for the living—arrest."*

Soviets of Workers' Deputies. During the stormy days of the October general strike the working class created a new type of revolutionary organization which played a leading role in the revolution. These organizations were the Soviets of Workers' Deputies. On October 13, while the strike was in progress, the workers of St. Petersburg held meetings in their factories and works and elected representatives to a Council (Soviet) of Workers' Deputies for the purpose of leading the strike. Formed originally as a Joint Strike Committee, the St. Petersburg Soviet rapidly became the embryo of a new revolutionary authority. Thus, in November, the Soviet on its own authority proclaimed the introduction of an 8-hour day; it had its own organ, *Izvestia*, which was printed in the biggest printing plants of St. Petersburg and appeared without the sanction of the tsarist censor. The Soviet began to interfere in the orders of the tsarist administration. While the post and telegraph employees were on strike government telegrams were sent off only with the Soviet's sanction. The inhabitants of St. Petersburg came to the Soviet on every kind of business as if it were an official administrative body. Nevertheless, the St. Petersburg Soviet failed to take the lead of the revolution. The reason for this was that, taking advantage of the absence from St. Petersburg of Lenin, who was living abroad in exile, the Mensheviks captured the leadership of the Soviet and did all in their power to prevent it from becoming an organ of revolutionary authority and, in particular, frustrated the preparations for armed insurrection.

Following the example of St. Petersburg, Soviets of Workers' Deputies were formed in all the other big cities of Russia during the period of October to December 1905. The Moscow Soviet was led by Bolsheviks and, as a consequence, it became an organ for the preparation of armed insurrection. In the Caucasus, in Latvia, and also in some parts of Central Russia (the Tver and Moscow Gubernia), representatives of the soldiers, i. e., peasants in military uniform, were members of the Soviets. Thus, Lenin's idea of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry began to take practical shape.

Nicholas II promulgated a manifesto restoring the constitution in Finland. The Finnish bourgeoisie was satisfied with this and began to make preparations for the elections to the new Diet. The Finnish Mensheviks supported the bourgeoisie in everything; they spread constitutional illusions among the masses and assured the workers and peasants that the armed struggle against tsarism was over. Describing the opportunist stand taken by the Finnish Mensheviks during the revolution of 1905, Lenin said that "they are not genuine Social-Democrats."

The Struggle for National Liberation in Poland. After January 9, strikes were continuously in progress in Poland. Numerous mass-meetings were held in the towns and villages at which resolutions were adopted demanding autonomy for Poland. The peasants refused to pay taxes or perform military service, and expelled the Russian government officials and schoolteachers.

The Polish nobility and the Catholic clergy came out under the leadership of the nationalist parties which advocated the achievement of autonomy for Poland by means of a deal with the Russian bourgeoisie.

In the autumn the national movement in Poland assumed wide dimensions. The population proclaimed a boycott of the tsarist schools, and the educational society known as Matitsa collected voluntary contributions from the people and opened Polish schools. After the October general strike the revolutionary struggle of the Polish people reached the verge of armed insurrection. This frightened the Polish bourgeoisie, who betrayed the movement by entering into an agreement with the Russian liberals.

In the autumn of 1905 the tsarist autocracy proclaimed martial law in Poland, but the political strike proclaimed by the St. Petersburg workers compelled the government to rescind it. This demonstrated to the Polish people that the Russian proletariat alone was their faithful ally.

The National Movement in the Ukraine and in Byelorussia. The revolutionary struggle of the workers of the Ukraine and Byelorussia in 1905 developed in complete unison with the struggle waged by the Russian proletariat.

Taking advantage of the weakening of the autocracy as a result of the revolutionary movement, the Ukrainians succeeded in publishing books and newspapers in the Ukrainian language. A section of the Ukrainian petty-bourgeois nationalists who had formed the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (R.U.P.) demanded autonomy for the Ukraine and the transfer of power to an autonomous Ukrainian Sejm. In their program, which did not differ from that of the Constitutional Democrats, they demanded the transfer of the land to the peasants with payment of compensation to the landlords. In addition to the

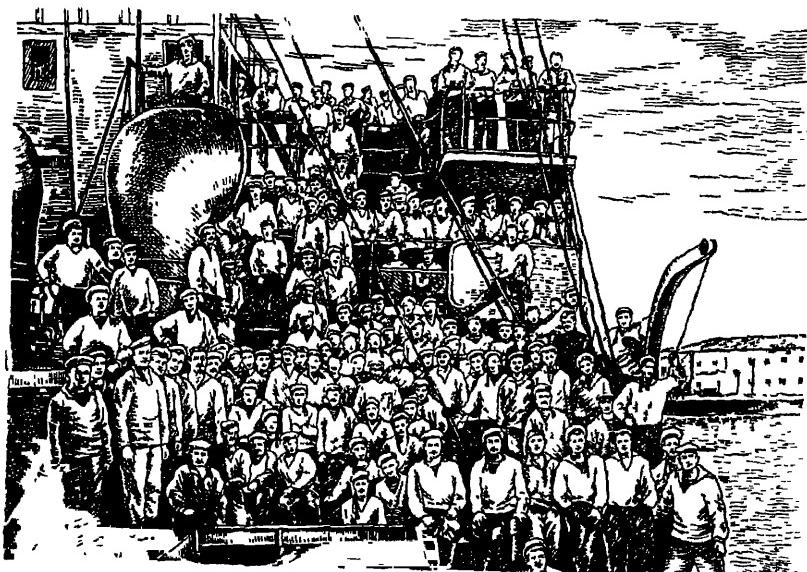
peasants rose in revolt against the landlords and drove them from their estates. The landlords, assisted by the authorities, organized their armed squads known as "Black Hundreds." In many parts of Georgia the inhabitants refused to recognize the tsarist courts and police.

The attempts of the Georgian nationalists, including the Georgian Mensheviks, to capture the leadership of the movement failed. In 1905 the workers and peasants of Georgia followed the lead of the Bolsheviks.

In Azerbaijan the movement for national liberation was led by the Baku Bolsheviks, who formed for this purpose a special organization known as Gummet (energy). This organization conducted extensive activities among the more backward and downtrodden section of the Azerbaijani workers in Baku. As a result of the educational work conducted by the Bolsheviks, the more class-conscious of the Azerbaijani workers, jointly with the Russian workers, succeeded, in February 1905, in putting a stop to the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacres. During the oil workers' strike in August, the majority of the Azerbaijani workers, for the first time, joined the strike, for they were beginning to understand that a united class movement was needed. The landlords and the rising local bourgeoisie tried to keep the Azerbaijani workers and peasants away from the revolutionary struggle. Intense religious and nationalist agitation was conducted in the towns and villages by the Pan-Islamists, who advocated the amalgamation of all Moslems in an independent Moslem state which was to be governed by the bourgeois-feudal upper classes and the clergy. This Pan-Islamist agitation received support from Turkey. The Gummet constantly exposed the reactionary plans of the exploiters of the Azerbaijani people that were covered up by the flag of religion.

In Armenia the bourgeois party known as the Dashnacktsutyun tried to capture the leadership of the movement for national liberation. In the endeavour to obtain the support of the Armenian bourgeoisie and the clergy in the struggle against the revolution in Transcaucasia, the tsar's government repealed the church property law, which limited the revenues of the Armenian Church.

The National Movement among the Peoples of the Volga Region and Siberia. The revolution of 1905 roused all the nationalities of Russia to political life. In the Volga Region and in Bashkiria the bourgeois nationalists formed a Moslem League, the object of which was to unite all Moslems. This league also extended its activities to some extent to the Moslem bourgeoisie in Central Asia and in Transcaucasia. A prominent part in this league was played by the mullahs, who fomented religious strife between the Moslem and Russian populations. At the end of 1905 the Tatar bourgeoisie convened in Kazan



The Crew of the Insurgent Cruiser *Ochakov*

law in Poland was rescinded, and instead of trying the Kronstadt sailors by court martial, which had power to pass sentence of death, they were tried by a military court and received comparatively light sentences: nine were sentenced to penal servitude, 123 to imprisonment, and 83 were even acquitted.

The November general strike of the St. Petersburg workers saved the lives of the insurgent Kronstadt sailors and was of enormous political importance, for it vividly demonstrated to the soldiers and sailors that the working class alone was their true champion and leader of their struggle. The Mensheviks had opposed this second general strike. Instead of fraternization with the soldiers and revolutionary propaganda in the tsar's army for the purpose of winning it to the side of the insurgent people they put forward the counter-revolutionary demand for the withdrawal of the garrison from St. Petersburg. Had this been done the soldiers would have been isolated from the St. Petersburg proletariat and left under the undivided influence of the army officers.

The Naval Revolt in Sevastopol. The Bolsheviks continued with their work of preparing for an armed insurrection in the Black Sea Fleet after the suppression of the revolt on the battleship *Potemkin*. The insurrection was started on November 14 by the crew

Preparations for Armed Insurrection. In November 1905 Lenin, compelled till then to live the life of an exile abroad, returned to Russia, took charge of the Party leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and set to work to prepare for an armed insurrection. While engaged in the colossal task of reorganizing the Party to meet the altered conditions, he at the same time edited *Novaya Zhizn*, the first legal Bolshevik newspaper, and wrote articles for it on the fundamental problems of the revolution and the tactics and organization of the Party.

On Lenin's instructions the Party organizations procured arms, formed workers' fighting squads and organized their military training. The Bolsheviks also conducted extensive revolutionary propaganda among the armed forces.

In December 1905, a Bolshevik Party Conference was held in Tammerfors, in Finland. Here Lenin and Stalin met for the first time. The conference discussed the question of armed insurrection. While the conference was in progress news was received of the outbreak of the insurrection in Moscow. On Lenin's proposal the conference broke up to allow the delegates to return to their respective localities in order to take the lead of the insurrection.

By the beginning of December the position of the tsarist autocracy had improved. By this time the more reliable regular army units had been transferred from Manchuria to European Russia. The foreign bankers hastened to the aid of tsarism, for they feared they would lose the capital they had invested in Russia and that a victory of the Russian revolution would kindle the flames of socialist revolution in Europe. They helped the tsar's government to meet the more urgent payments of interest on loans and promised another large loan for the suppression of the revolution.

The immense sweep of the revolution frightened the liberals who, therefore, began to support the autocracy in its struggle against the workers and peasants. The Mensheviks continued their treacherous tactics and frustrated the insurrection where preparations were being made for it, or where it had already commenced.

On December 2, the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies adopted the so-called financial manifesto in which it called upon the inhabitants to demand their savings bank deposits and wages in gold. Next day the government arrested the Soviet. The St. Petersburg proletariat was unable to answer this challenge of the autocracy by an insurrection, for the treacherous policy which had been pursued by the Menshevik and Trotskyite leadership of the Soviet had left them unprepared for such action.

The Armed Insurrection in Moscow. The Moscow Soviet, which was led by Bolsheviks, began actively to prepare for an armed insurrection from the very first day of its existence. As a result of the



Barricades in Lesnaya Street, Moscow, December 1905

who had been appointed by the Moscow Committee of the Party, and dispersed a mass meeting that was being held in the Aquarium Park, by armed force.

In the evening of December 9, troops surrounded Fiedler's School, where the fighting squads were assembled, and bombarded it with artillery. The demolition of the school infuriated the masses. In response to the appeal of the fighting squads, and in many cases on their own accord, the people of Moscow erected barricades, using telegraph poles, sleighs, packing cases, barrels, wooden planks and so forth. That night Moscow was covered with barricades. On December 15, after the arrival of the troops from St. Petersburg, the barricades were bombarded by artillery; machine guns were posted on the belfries of the Moscow churches and monasteries. Unable to hold out against artillery and machine guns, the fighting squads retreated, but fought back, heroically defending every inch of ground, and concentrated in the Presnya District of Moscow (now called Krasnaya [Red] Presnya). The staff of the insurrection had its headquarters in a large textile mill known as the Trekhgornaya Mills, but the leading body of the insurrection—the Moscow Committee of the Party—had been arrested on the eve of the outbreak. Deprived of central leadership, the insurrection deteriorated into isolated district fighting. The workers waged a guerilla fight against the troops; they hesitated to fight their way to the centre of the city, and confined themselves to the defensive. This was the main reason for the weakness of the Moscow insurrection.

Nevertheless, Presnya held out against the tsar's troops armed

and released their "Red General," as the workers, already at that time, called him.

In Novorossiisk power was captured by the local Soviet of Workers' Deputies, which was led by Bolsheviks. The City Governor and authorities fled. People's courts were elected and were recognized by the whole population. The burden of taxation was placed entirely upon the propertied classes.

In Sochi, in the North Caucasus, the insurgent people captured the garrison and the tsarist administration; and in the rural districts of the Sochi Region power passed into the hands of the people. Soviets were set up in all centres. The people of Sochi were helped by "Red Hundreds" sent from Guria.

In Vladikavkaz, the Ossetinian cavalry unit rose in revolt in December 1905, and it was only with the aid of Cossacks that the revolt of this national-minority unit was suppressed.

In Guria, the insurgent people in many districts seized power and the landlords' land. Here the insurrection was led by the Caucasian Bolsheviks, headed by Comrade Stalin.

In Tiflis, the Mensheviks, by arrangement with the tsar's Viceroy, undertook to maintain "order" against the armed insurrection, and to enable them to carry out this police function the Viceroy provided them with 500 rifles and quantities of ammunition.

In Siberia—in Krasnoyarsk and Chita—troops joined the insurgent workers and, as a consequence, seats in the Soviets of these two cities were also occupied by Soldiers' Deputies. In Krasnoyarsk, the soldiers, jointly with the workers, barricaded themselves in one of the railway workshops, and fighting a regular battle, bravely repulsed the attacks of the troops which were sent to suppress the insurrection.

The insurrection on the Siberian Railway was brutally suppressed by two punitive expeditions. One expedition, under the command of General Möller-Zakomelsky, moved up from European Russia, while the other, under the command of General Rennenkampf, moved to meet the former from Harbin. Shootings without trial or investigation marked the trail of these punitive expeditions. One of those who were shot, by direct order of Möller-Zakomelsky, was the old Bolshevik and Lenin's pupil I. V. Babushkin, who was caught while transporting arms.

Ruthless operations by punitive expeditions were also conducted in Central Russia, in the Ukraine, in Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Transcaucasia and Siberia. "Make fewer arrests, shoot more," "Don't argue, shoot," such were the orders issued by those butchers, the tsar's ministers, and by the tsar himself. Thousands were executed and tens of thousands were arrested and sentenced to penal servitude or exile. The peasants were subjected to wholesale flogging.

inces and in Transcaucasia. Here regular battles took place between the peasants and the tsar's forces.

The Elections to the First State Duma. While crushing the revolution by armed force, the autocracy also began, as Lenin put it, "to crush popular liberties by means of a monarchist 'constitution.'"

On December 11, 1905, during the armed insurrection, a law was promulgated governing the elections to the State Duma. This law was needed by the autocracy to deceive the people. It granted electoral rights mainly to the propertied classes—the landlords and the capitalists. As for the electoral rights received by the workers and peasants, they contained considerable restrictions. The suffrage was far from universal. Agricultural labourers, day labourers and many other categories of workers were not granted the vote at all, nor were women, the men in the armed forces, students or persons under the age of twenty-five. The suffrage was not equal. For urban electors a high property qualification was fixed, which meant that they had to be in receipt of large incomes from the renting of houses or from commercial or industrial enterprises. The voters were divided up into four curiae or voters' groups: landowning (landlords), urban (the bourgeoisie), peasants and workers. The rate of representation for the different curiae was not the same. The landowning group could elect one elector for every 2,000 voters, the urban group could elect one for every 7,000 voters, the peasants' group one for every 30,000 voters and the workers' group one for every 90,000 voters. The elections were not direct, but went through a series of intermediary stages. For the peasants there were actually four stages. First, the peasants in each village elected electors to a volost meeting which elected two delegates to a county meeting. The county meeting elected electors to a gubernia election meeting, which at last elected the deputies to the Duma. Voting was in fact not secret.

Witte calculated that with the aid of the peasants, who still retained some faith in the tsar, he would succeed in securing the election of a monarchist State Duma, and therefore, in the electoral law he drafted he allowed the peasant electors 40 per cent of the total number of seats. In February 1906, the government issued a supplementary regulation governing the elections to the State Duma, which still further restricted the electoral rights of the workers and urban democratic voters compared with the law of December 11.

The elections to the State Duma took place in March and April 1906, in an atmosphere of the most brutal police terrorism. The Bolsheviks adhered to the decision which was adopted by the united Central Committee of the Party to boycott the elections. Nevertheless, they spoke at election meetings and exposed the deception perpetrated by

equal powers with the Duma. The Council was reformed and made to consist half of high government officials appointed by the tsar and half of elected representatives of the nobility, the Zemstvos, the universities and the clergy. Bills passed by the Duma had to be passed by the State Council before they could be sent to the tsar. He, in his turn, had the final say as to whether to accept or reject them. Thus, the legislative rights of the Duma promised in the Manifesto of October 17, were almost nullified. Witte, with whose name the Manifesto of October 17 was associated, could not be used to carry out this avowedly reactionary policy and he was therefore dismissed. Goremykin, a representative of the reactionary bureaucracy, became President of the Council of Ministers.

Nevertheless, although the rights of the electors and the scope of activity of the State Duma were severely restricted, the Duma did to some extent limit the powers of the tsarist autocracy.

The composition of the Duma after the elections also proved to be unfavourable for the tsar's government. Of the 524 Deputies 204 were peasants, but these were not the sort of peasants Count Witte had counted on. The majority of the peasant Deputies formed what was called the Trudovik group, or Group of Toil, which, at first, the workers' Deputies also joined. The Social-Democratic group in the Duma numbered 18 Deputies. The largest single group in the First State Duma was that of the Constitutional Democrats (Cadets) who numbered 179 Deputies. In their hunt for peasant votes during the elections, the Cadets had described themselves as the "Party of Popular Freedom." The Rights (from the Black Hundreds to the Octobrists) had 44 Deputies.

As a result of the constitutional illusions spread among them by the Cadets, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, the peasants believed that they would be able to get land by peaceful means through the Duma and had therefore elected their Deputies with keen expectations. The Cadets proposed that only a part of the landlords' land be transferred to the peasants, and then only at a "fair assessment." The peasants knew from their own experience that the "fair assessment" of the landlords was two or three times higher than the market price of the land, and as the attitude of the government and of the Cadets, as the leading party in the Duma, towards their urgent demands for land became clear, their constitutional illusions were dispelled. The awakening of the class-consciousness of the peasant Deputies was quickened by the unceasing propaganda of the Bolsheviks who, by their policy, enabled the workers' Deputies in the Duma to take a correct proletarian class stand on a number of questions.

Lenin and Stalin denounced the Cadets as enemies of the working peasantry and called upon the peasants to act in unison with the workers, to form and strengthen a proletarian and peasant alliance, for, they

To punish the revolutionaries, Stolypin, in August 1906, instituted field courts-martial, which up to April 1907, sentenced over a thousand men to death. Execution on the gallows became a common practice.

In an endeavour to split the ranks of the peasantry who had been united in their struggle for land during the revolution, Stolypin, on November 9, 1906, in the period between the First and the Second Dumas, issued a decree granting the peasants the right to leave the peasant communities and to acquire definite ownership of their allotments.

Owing to the intensification of the peasants' struggle for land, the tsar's government again entered into negotiations with the governments of Germany and Austria for their intervention in Russian affairs.

On July 7 (20), 1906, on the very eve of the dispersion of the First State Duma, the Bolshevik newspaper *Echo* published an article by Lenin entitled "The Plots of the Reaction and the Threats of the Pogrom-mongers" in which he exposed the machinations of the tsar and of his German and Austrian friends. After quoting the rapture the government newspaper *Rossiya* had expressed over the forthcoming intervention, Lenin went on to say: "These measures consist in preparing the armed forces of Germany and Austria for the invasion of Russia if the cause of freedom is victorious or on the point of victory. The Berlin government is already in communication with the Austrian government on this question. Both governments have admitted that 'under certain circumstances active intervention in the internal affairs of Russia with the object of suppressing or restricting this [i.e., revolutionary] movement may become desirable and useful. . . .'"

"Thus, there can be no doubt about the plot that is being hatched by international counter-revolution. The Russian government is calling in the aid of foreign troops against the Russian people. Negotiations for this have been and are being conducted, and have already resulted in a fairly definite agreement" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. IX, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 411).

This article helped still further to expose the counter-revolutionary designs of tsarism.

The Second State Duma. The experience of the First Duma showed that the Duma could be used as a platform from which to expose the crimes of tsarism and the treachery of the liberals, and also to fight for the leadership of the peasants. Consequently, on Lenin's proposal, the Bolsheviks decided to take part in the elections to the Second State Duma. The result of the participation of the Left-wing parties in the elections was that the Second Duma was more radical than the First. The Cadets won only about half the seats they had held in the First Duma (98 as against 179). The Trudovik group, together with the Socialist-Revo-

alliance was spontaneous, not formulated, and often unconscious" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIV, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 15). The peasants did not yet sufficiently understand that the tsar and the landlords constituted a single gang of the bitterest enemies of the people, and that in order to overthrow the landlords it was necessary to overthrow the tsar too. Nor did they yet realize that the only faithful ally and leader they had was the working class. As a consequence, a large section of the peasantry failed to support the armed struggle of the workers against tsarism. Even those peasants who fought against the landlords and tsarism lacked sufficient political consciousness and organization.

The army, which consisted mainly of peasants and reflected the inadequate class consciousness of the peasantry, had not yet gone over to the side of the insurgents, and the bulk of it helped tsarism to crush the revolution.

Nor were the workers sufficiently united in their activities. The strike wave reached its peak in 1905, but the intensity of the strike movement varied according to districts. While in industrial regions like St. Petersburg, Baku, Riga and other places, every worker went on strike no less than four or five times in 1905, in the districts of the Moscow Gubernia every worker went on strike only once in the year, and in a number of industrially less-developed gubernias, some workers had not struck at all. In 1906, the number of strikers dropped in the more-industrialized gubernias, whereas in the least-industrialized gubernias, the backwoods, as Lenin called them, the number of strikers rose. But by that time the vanguard of the working class had already been weakened.

In the period of 1905 to 1907, the working class still lacked the unity necessary for the victory of the revolution. At first the Party was split into two factions; later it united, but only formally. The Bolsheviks pursued a consistent revolutionary policy, but the Mensheviks still exercised influence among a certain section of the workers and retarded the development of the revolution.

Thus, in the first Russian revolution its three main forces: workers, peasants and soldiers, had not yet merged in one common torrent.

The tsar's government received the assistance of the foreign imperialists, who were apprehensive about the fate of their investments in Russia and feared that the revolution would spread to Western Europe.

In the spring of 1906, the French bankers granted the tsar loans amounting to a billion francs. Wilhelm II mustered a whole army to invade Russia in support of the tsarist autocracy. An important factor that helped tsarism was the conclusion of peace with Japan, which strengthened the position of the tsar's government. Moreover, to suppress the revolution the tsar could use the military forces that were released from Manchuria.

The unsuccessful war against Japan, the falling off in government contracts and railway construction, and a series of crop failures which caused the already restricted home market to shrink still further, had all served to prolong the industrial crisis of the early 1900's. The new world economic crisis aggravated the industrial depression in Russia.

The course of the crisis may be illustrated by the output of pig iron in that period. Taking the output of pig iron in 1900 at 100, the index number of the output in 1903 was 84. As a consequence of the increased demand created by the war against Japan the index number rose in 1904 to 102, but in 1905-1906 it dropped again, to 93, and in the period of depression from 1907 to 1909 it did not rise above 97. Only in 1910, after a ten years' state of crisis, did the output exceed that of the beginning of the century.

All the basic industries, including the oil industry, were in a state of stagnation. The coal industry of the Donetz Basin alone was somewhat less affected by the crisis and the depression. The textile industry, the output of which had risen somewhat by 1907, remained stagnant during the period of the depression.

After the revolution of 1905, important changes took place in industry. The concentration of industry increased. Capitalist combines—trusts and syndicates—grew rapidly. During the period of the industrial depression the big banks became more powerful and took a direct part in the reorganization of industry, strengthening and enlarging some plants, closing down others, and combining and reorganizing still others. For the purpose of financing Russian industry the French bankers promoted the formation of a banking syndicate known as the Russo-French Finance Company. Capitalism in Russia became increasingly monopolistic, imperialist capitalism.

In many cases the factory owners closed down their plants for a time in order to install new machinery, to reorganize the management and to combine with other plants. The unemployment that was created by the crisis assumed a spasmodic character, and this gave rise to a feeling of insecurity among the workers. Male workers were dismissed wholesale and replaced by cheap female and child labour. The material conditions of the workers sharply deteriorated. The employers tried to force the workers back to the conditions of labour that had existed before the revolution of 1905. The working day was lengthened to ten and even to twelve hours. Piece rates for all categories of work were reduced, and fines again became the rule. The cost of living steadily rose.

The large federations of employers that sprang up in 1906 and 1907 in St. Petersburg and Moscow formed a united front with tsarism against the workers. The employers' organizations discharged the more class-conscious and militant workers. These workers were blacklisted and could not find employment anywhere. The factory owners often practised wholesale dismissals of workers.

the terror not only of Europe, but now also of Asia, the gang which has developed tyranny, robbery and embezzlement of state funds by government officials, systematic violence against the 'common people,' torment and torture of political opponents, etc., to absolutely exceptional dimensions" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XV, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 247).

The Third State Duma. The *coup d'état* of the 3rd of June marked the opening of the offensive which tsarism launched against the gains won by the revolutionary masses; but it could not return entirely to the conditions that prevailed before the revolution. Although the revolution of 1905 sustained defeat, the revolutionary struggle which the working people had waged made it impossible for tsarism to rule by means of the old methods. After dispersing two Dumas, Nicholas II was obliged to convene the Third Duma. Another reason which dictated the necessity of maintaining the semblance of a representative institution in Russia was the growth of capitalism, the growing strength of the Russian bourgeoisie, and the unstable international position of tsarism, which was compelled to manoeuvre and give Europe the impression that Russia was a constitutional country. Above all, however, tsarism aimed at making the Third Duma a new class bulwark for itself by forming a bloc with the counter-revolutionary Russian bourgeoisie.

In the endeavour to "retain power and revenues" for the ruling class of feudal landlords, tsarism—following the 1905 revolution—took the second step (the first was taken in 1861) towards establishing a bourgeois monarchy, by consolidating the bloc with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. The political expression and embodiment of the 3rd of June bloc between the landlords and the bourgeoisie was the Third State Duma, convened on the basis of the new electoral law of June 3, 1907.

In conformity with this law, the landlords were allowed to elect one elector from every 230 voters, the bourgeoisie one from every thousand, the peasants one from every 60,000, and the workers only one from every 125,000. This law increased the number of landlord electors almost fivefold, that of bourgeois electors sevenfold, compared with that provided for by the law of December 11, 1905, while the number of the worker and peasant electors was more than halved. The franchise for the non-Russian nationalities in Russia was still further restricted. The peoples of Central Asia were totally deprived of representation in the Duma. Poland was entitled to send only 12 Deputies instead of 35, and of these, two—the representatives of Warsaw and the Kholm Region—had to be Russians. European Russia was granted 403 seats in the Duma, but the "border regions" were given only 39.

Thus, the new electoral law ensured that the Third State Duma

level of agriculture in Russia in the beginning of the twentieth century was as low as ever it was before. As far as yield is concerned, Russia stood almost at the bottom of the list of all the countries of the world. In the period from 1909 to 1913 the average yield of grain in Russia was 45 poods per desyatina compared with 90 in France, 152 in Germany and 192 in Denmark. In respect to the mechanization of agriculture, Russia was equally far behind the advanced countries. The greater part of the peasants' lands were ploughed with wooden ploughs, and grain was sown and threshed by hand. In 1910, there were employed in agriculture throughout the empire 3,000,000 primitive wooden ploughs, 7,000,000 wooden-handled ploughs, 5,000,000 wooden harrows and only 27,000 steam threshers. Tractors and electric ploughs were not even thought of.

After the revolution of 1905, the utter destruction of the old mediaeval system of landownership in Russia became particularly urgent. Still more acute than in 1861 became the struggle for one or the other of the two possible paths of development of capitalism in agriculture—the Prussian or the American. In 1907, Lenin wrote that there were two possibilities: "Either the Prussian type of evolution: the feudal landlord will become a Junker. The power of the landlords in the state will be consolidated for decades. Monarchy. 'A military despotism clothed in parliamentary forms' instead of democracy. The utmost inequality among the rural and among the rest of the population. Or the American type of evolution. Abolition of the landlord system. The peasant becomes a free farmer. Sovereignty of the people. A bourgeois-democratic system. The utmost equality among the rural population as the starting point and condition for free capitalism" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XI, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 188).

The peasant revolts in the period of the revolution showed that the peasantry refused to tolerate their present conditions any longer, wanted to sweep away the old system of landownership by revolutionary means, and were in fact taking the American path of development of capitalism in agriculture.

The tsarist government, the landlords and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie wanted to bring about this change in a way that would serve the interests of the landlords, they wanted the Prussian way. The government therefore decided to split the peasantry, even at the cost of ruining the countryside, and to encourage the rise of a prosperous class of small landowners—"new landlords" who would fight for the protection of private property in land and for the preservation of the tsarist autocracy.

The government, therefore, abandoned its former policy of preserving the village communities and the mediaeval forms of land tenure connected with it, such as tying the peasants to the village community, collective responsibility of the community for the payment of taxes,

the ruined and impoverished peasants who, having no means to escape from want, said: "There's nowhere to go, so let's take up a 'khutor' farm." But having no means with which to make such farms work, they would sell their allotments to the kulaks. In this way the kulak farms within and without the villages grew into real estates where wage labour was employed on a large scale. The process of differentiation of the peasantry into classes was accelerated. A section of the peasants who had been deprived of their land went to seek a livelihood in the towns and became proletarians.

During the ten years the Stolypin law was in operation over 2,000,000 householders, with an area of land amounting to 18,000,000 hectares, left the village communities and took over the land as their private property. Of this number, 54.7 per cent set up "khutor" and "otrub" farms, but three-fifths of these subsequently sold their allotments.

The buying and selling of land was transacted through the Peasant Bank. From 1906 to 1910 the peasants acquired through this bank a total of 6,000,000 hectares of land. The bank concerned itself exclusively with the setting up of "khutor" and "otrub" farms, and during the ten years it was in operation, from 1906 to 1916, it helped to form 200,000 of these. The Peasant Bank operated in the interests of the nobility and the kulaks. It purchased allotment land at a ridiculously low price compared with that of landlord land. Where landlord land was assessed at 121 rubles per hectare, allotment land was assessed at 79 rubles, but the bank sold the latter at 140 to 150 rubles per hectare. When it sold land to be paid for in installments it demanded high interest on the mortgage. Frequently peasants who had become "khutor"-farmers fell into arrears in the payment of interest and principal on loans received from the bank. In such cases their property was sold under the hammer and they were compelled to seek a livelihood in the towns.

Stolypin also extensively applied the policy of resettlement. His aim was to form a class of "sturdy" and "prosperous" peasant owners in the Central regions of Russia and to shift the discontented poor and middle peasants further out—to Siberia and other border regions. From 1906 to 1910, 2,500,000 peasants were resettled in Siberia, the Far East, Central Asia and other outlying regions.

In the pursuit of political aims the Stolypin government roughshod over the interests of the settlers and the rights of the native inhabitants.

The task of carrying out the resettlement policy was entrusted to resettlement commissions, Prefects and Provincial Governors. The commissions packed off whole contingents of poor and middle peasants in cattle trucks which bore the inscription: "Forty persons, eight horses." The settlers with their wives and children, healthy and sick, travelled for months to their new places of settlement, living in these cattle trucks, in which they cooked their food and did their washing;

In 1910, an outbreak of cholera in the south of Russia carried away 100,000 persons. Plague broke out in the steppes of Astrakhan. Ruination, poverty and starvation roused the anger of the peasants and imbued them with the spirit of revolution.

Another crop failure in 1911, and the famine which affected 30,000,000 peasants showed that the Stolypin reform had not abolished the fundamental causes of the backwardness of agriculture. Typhus and other epidemic diseases ravaged the famine-affected areas.

Stolypin's reform did not abolish mediaeval landownership. The royal family, the landlords and the monasteries still retained over 150,000,000 hectares of the best and most fertile land in the country. The landlords continued to keep the peasants in bondage, compelling them to cultivate their, the landlords', land with their wretched horses and primitive implements. "This is not capitalism," wrote Lenin, describing the state of landlord and peasant farming that resulted from Stolypin's reform. "This is not the European method of farming. . . . This is the *old Chinese way*. This is the *Turkish way*. This is the *feudal way*" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, Moscow, 1934, p. 239).

The reform did not even abolish the open-field system and other survivals of serfdom which reduced the productivity of the peasants' labour. The peasants, with bitter irony, described Stolypin's policy of land settlement as "land unsettlement."

Stolypin's reform merely postponed the doom of serfdom; it did not eliminate the profound contradictions that constituted the basis of the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution. It still further accelerated the process of differentiation among the peasantry and intensified the class struggle in the rural districts. The agrarian question, the fundamental question of the Russian revolution, could be settled only by abolishing the landlord latifundia and by transferring the 70,000,000 hectares of landlord land to the peasants without compensation. But only another revolution could do this.

14. THE DECLINE OF THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFUSION IN THE PERIOD OF REACTION

The Working-Class Movement in the Period of Reaction. In the winter of 1907, the Stolypin government issued an order for the arrest of Lenin. The tsarist sleuths hunted high and low for the leader of the revolution. On the proposal of the Party, Lenin, who was living in Finland at the time, went abroad. To board the ship unobserved by the police he, one night, crossed the ice in the Gulf of Finland on foot to a near-by island, accompanied by two Finnish peasants. The December ice was frail and Lenin was almost drowned in an icehole, out of which he managed to extricate himself with difficulty. He got safe

opinion," he went on to say, "general weariness and apathy, want and despair among the workers, a downtrodden and intimidated peasantry and with the police-landlord-capitalist hounds running riot—such are the characteristic features of Stolypin's 'pacification.'" ("On the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of *Pravda*," Stalin's article published in *Pravda* No. 98 of May 5, 1922.)

The defeat of the revolution caused disintegration and degeneration among the intellectuals. Some of the bourgeois fellow-travellers of the revolution deserted to the camp of its open enemies. Others found jobs for themselves in the legal working-class organizations, condemned all revolutionary activity, and called upon the workers to adjust themselves to reaction and reconcile themselves to tsarism. This section of the intellectuals believed that Stolypin's reforms had already converted Russia into a bourgeois state and had made revolution superfluous. More hostile to the revolution than any other section of the intellectuals was the bourgeois (Cadet) intelligentsia who united around the symposium entitled *Vekhi* (*Landmarks*) which was published in 1909. The contributors to this symposium were prominent representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia, former legal Marxists and Constitutional-Democrats. They proclaimed war on Marxism, renounced the struggle for democracy and called for conciliation with tsarism. *Vekhi* advocated the doctrines of the Orthodox Russian Church, mysticism and obedience to God and the powers that be, and championed the Great-Power and imperialist foreign policy which the Cadet bourgeoisie began to advocate after 1905.

Ideological confusion and collapse were particularly rife among the petty-bourgeois parties (Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and others) in which numerous factions, groups and coteries were formed.

The Mensheviks were of the opinion that the revolution was over and that Stolypin had put Russia onto the path of bourgeois development. They tried to adjust themselves to the Stolypin regime and urged that the old militant Social-Democratic Party, which tsarism had driven underground, should be liquidated. For this reason the Mensheviks were called Liquidators. Lenin called the Liquidators the "Stolypin Labour Party" because they had become the servants and coadjutors of the 3rd of June monarchy.

The Socialist-Revolutionary Party split in two. The Right Socialist-Revolutionaries had as early as 1906 formed a semi-Cadet Working People's Socialist Party and were referred to briefly as Popular Socialists. The Popular Socialists advocated the payment of compensation for landlords' land alienated for the benefit of the peasantry and entered into a bloc with the Cadets. The "Left" wing of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party formed a semi-anarchist group known as the Maximalist Socialist-Revolutionaries. They proposed economic and political

avowed Liquidators because he deceived the workers by asserting that he was "above factions," whereas actually he supported the Menshevik Liquidators. It was in that period that Lenin called Trotsky "Judas Trotsky." In 1912 Trotsky organized the so-called "August bloc," which consisted of all the anti-Party elements which were united in their struggle against Bolshevism.

Trotsky was supported in his opposition to Lenin by Kamenev, Zinoviev and Rykov. Concealing their alliance with Trotsky, they succeeded in getting the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary* closed down and in securing support for Trotsky's newspaper. Kamenev joined the editorial board of Trotsky's newspaper and tried to turn it into the organ of the Central Committee of the Party.

Despondency and lack of faith infected a section of the intellectuals who regarded themselves as Marxists but who had never taken a firm Marxisan stand. They launched a "criticism" of the theoretical principles of Marxism. Some of the intellectuals who had deserted Marxism even began to urge the necessity of creating a new religion (the so-called "God-seekers" and "God-builders").

In his famous book *Materialism und Empirio-Criticism*, which appeared in 1909, Lenin trounced these degenerates in the sphere of Marxist theory and fully substantiated the basic theoretical principles of the Marxist party.

The Bolsheviks Form an Independent Marxist Party. The fight against the Liquidators, Otzovists and Trotskyites confronted the Bolsheviks with the task of uniting all the Bolsheviks and forming them into an independent Marxist party. This was necessary in order to be able to prepare the working class for a new upward swing of the revolution.

For the purpose of forming the independent Bolshevik Party the Sixth All-Russian Party Conference was held in Prague, in January 1912. This conference was equal in importance to a Party congress. The Prague Conference elected a Bolshevik Central Committee of the Party, headed by Lenin. J. V. Stalin and Y. M. Sverdlov, who were in exile in Siberia at the time, were elected to the Central Committee in their absence.

The Bolshevik Party did not adopt a new name after defeating the Mensheviks both ideologically and organizationally, and after expelling them and the Otzovists from the Party; it retained the old name of Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party but added the word "Bolsheviks" in brackets. This name it retained up to 1918.

In its decisions the Prague Conference pointed to the inevitability of another revolutionary upsurge and urged the necessity of intensifying activities among the masses. For the purpose of directing the Party's revolutionary activities in Russia, a centre for practical work was set up known as the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee. This Bureau was headed by Comrade Stalin. On Lenin's instruc-

A no less ardent and outstanding young revolutionary of that time was the pupil of Lenin and Stalin—Grigori Konstantinovich Orjonikidze, whose Party pseudonym was Sergo. The son of a Georgian peasant, he commenced revolutionary activity at the age of seventeen. In 1903 he joined the Bolshevik Party. During the first Russian revolution he took part in preparing the armed insurrection but was arrested in December 1905 while unloading a consignment of arms which had been received. He succeeded in escaping abroad but subsequently returned to Baku. In 1909, he made his way into Persia and took part in the Persian revolution. After repeated arrests Sergo Orjonikidze went to Lenin in Paris, where he attended a Party school organized by Lenin. At the Prague Conference he was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and he returned to Russia to conduct underground Bolshevik activity. He was arrested shortly after this, however, and sentenced to three years' confinement in the Schlüsselburg Fortress.

In this period too, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov became a professional revolutionary. He joined the Bolshevik Party in 1906 while still a high-school student, and at the age of sixteen already conducted Marxist propaganda among the student youth. This activity he continued during the period of reaction. At the age of nineteen, not having yet graduated from high school, he was deported to Vologda Gubernia, but he continued his revolutionary activities even while in exile and combated the views of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Like the other Bolsheviks, V. M. Molotov spent his time in exile improving his knowledge of revolutionary theory and in studying the classical works of Marxism. In Vologda he established contact with and conducted revolutionary propaganda among the railway workers. When his period of exile expired he returned to St. Petersburg to conduct underground Bolshevik activity and took an active part in all the important measures undertaken by the St. Petersburg Bolshevik organization.

During the period of reaction the workingmen Bolsheviks Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin and Kliment Efremovich Voroshilov worked as professional underground revolutionaries.

M. I. Kalinin, a metal turner by trade, had led the arduous life of a professional revolutionary since the 1890's and had known the inside of many prisons in tsarist Russia. He had been a member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class and one of the active agents of *Iskra*. In 1910, after completing a prison sentence, he went to work at an ordnance works in St. Petersburg, and in 1911, he became the leader of the Bolshevik organization in the Vyborg District of that city. At the Prague Conference he was elected as an alternate member of the Bolshevik Central Committee of the Party.

In 1906, Great Britain and France granted the tsarist autocracy loans amounting to 2,500,000,000 francs and thereby saved it from financial bankruptcy. These countries also helped the autocracy finally to settle its relations with Japan, which, on the pret^{xt} of implementing certain clauses of the Portsmouth Treaty, continued to present Russia with unacceptable demands and threatened to resume the war. After the recent losses, however, and after the demobilization of the Russian army in the Far East, tsarist Russia was totally incapable of waging another war with Japan. The British and French governments took advantage of Japan's need of a foreign loan to compel her to make concessions to Russia and to conclude, in the summer of 1907, an agreement guaranteeing the security of Russia's Far Eastern frontiers. The tsarist government, in its turn, pledged itself to support France in her struggle against Germany over Morocco, and agreed to a demarcation of spheres of influence between Great Britain and Russia in the Middle East (Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet). Thus, simultaneously with the signing of the Russo-Japanese agreement, a political agreement between Russia and Great Britain was signed. By the treaty of 1907, Northern Persia, the most densely populated part of the country, was recognized as Russia's sphere of influence, and Southern Persia, the strategical cover of the approaches to India, with its naval ports and rich oil deposits, was proclaimed Great Britain's sphere of influence. Central Persia was proclaimed a neutral zone.

The Anglo-Russian agreement supplemented the Franco-Russian Treaty of 1893 and the Anglo-French agreement of 1904 and thus consummated the formation of the Triple Entente between Great Britain, France and Russia. Herein lay its immense political importance. This Triple Entente was directed against the Triple Alliance that was headed by Germany.

The Bosnia Crisis. The definite formation of these two coalitions brought the prospect of a European war very much nearer.

From the very outset Russian tsarism occupied a subordinate position in the Entente. Russia's national interests called for the strengthening of her influence in the Balkans and in the Near East to counterbalance the growing Austro-German menace. But Russia was hindered by the international treaties which prohibited Russian warships from passing through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Russia failed to receive the diplomatic support of her allies, who preferred to leave the question unsettled in order to keep Russia dependent upon them.

In May and June 1908, a meeting between the King of England and the Tsar of Russia took place in Revel at which the two monarchs agreed to make joint preparations for war against Germany. They also agreed on the joint introduction of reforms in Macedonia, which, in

In the summer of 1908, Colonel Lyakhov, who was in command of a Cossack brigade in Persia, bombarded the Mejlis with artillery and established a reign of White terror in Teheran. The tsarist government compelled the Shah to dissolve the Mejlis; many members of the Mejlis were executed and others were flung into prison. But the Persian revolution continued in spite of this, and in 1909, the Shah was obliged to flee to Russia, leaving a boy successor. Great Britain and Russia instituted a financial blockade of revolutionary Persia. In December 1911, the Persian reactionaries, supported by Great Britain and Russia, carried out a counter-revolutionary coup. The Persian revolution was crushed. By agreement with Great Britain, Russia retained her troops of occupation in Northern Persia.

In 1908, a military coup, led by the party known as the Young Turks, was brought about in Turkey with the object of saving the integrity of the Turkish empire. This coup resulted in the introduction of a constitutional form of government. The first blow at the Young Turk revolution was struck by Austria-Hungary, which annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. The tsarist government too helped to strangle the Young Turk revolution by the Balkan policy it pursued. In 1909 it consented to Italy's annexation of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, Turkey's provinces in Africa. It also supported the claims of France and Great Britain to Arab territory. Under the leadership of Russia, a league of Balkan countries was formed to attack Turkey. All this served to weaken the Young Turk revolution and to turn the Young Turks towards rapprochement with German imperialism.

The biggest revolution in the Orient was the Chinese revolution of 1911, which was directed against the feudal rulers of China and against the foreign imperialists.

Russian tsarism also acted as the suppressor of the Chinese revolution by entering the bloc of six Powers (Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Japan and the United States), which subjected revolutionary China to a financial boycott and helped the counter-revolutionary President Yuan Shih-kai to suppress the revolution.

Tsarism, the Reserve of Western Imperialism. Although Russian tsarism pursued its own imperialist aims in the world war that was in preparation, the subordinate and dependent place it occupied in the Triple Entente converted it into the military reserve of Western imperialism.

The operations of the tsar's army in the impending war were determined by the military interests of Great Britain and France. At a conference of Chiefs of General Staffs held in 1911, the representative of France said: "The object which the Russian forces must pursue is to compel Germany to maintain the largest possible forces on the Eastern Front." The Russian Army was to launch an offensive against Germany simultaneously with the Anglo-French offensive.

wrote: "The experience of the 1905 revolution showed that even in these two nations the ruling classes, the landlords and the bourgeoisie, are renouncing the revolutionary struggle for freedom and are seeking rapprochement with the ruling classes in Russia and with the tsarist monarchy *out of fear* of the revolutionary proletariat of Finland and Poland" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 508).

The Third State Duma also discussed a bill providing for the extension to the Caucasus of the regulation of 1881, by which all peasants working under temporary obligation were released from serf labour with payment of compensation to the landlords.

Thus, serfdom in the Caucasus was abolished only in 1912; survivals of it continued right up to the revolution of 1917.

In the period of reaction the tsarist autocracy dropped its former policy of protecting the Moslem clergy who cultivated ignorance and fanaticism in their schools. The Rights in the Third State Duma demanded that all Moslem schools be closed in order to "Russify all the non-Russians, and to bring all the unorthodox into the Orthodox fold." The tsarist officials and the Orthodox Church intensified their persecution of Moslems, and Moslem schools and charitable institutions were banned.

The Black Hundreds in the Duma also succeeded in depriving the Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Jews of the right to have schools conducted in their own languages. In the Ukraine all the "Prosvity" were closed, and concerts and theatrical performances in the Ukrainian language were prohibited. High-school teachers and college professors suspected of having a "Ukrainian trend of thought" were dismissed. Minstrels were even prohibited from singing Ukrainian folk songs at fairs. Exceptionally fierce, however, was the Stolypin government's persecution of the Jews. It deliberately fomented anti-Semitism among the backward sections of the population. Six million Jews were herded in the "Pale," or ghettos, and yet the Black Hundreds in the Third Duma let loose a campaign about "the impermissibility of giving equal rights to the Jews" and demanded still further restrictions for the Jewish population in Russia. The pogrom-mongers among the higher tsarist officials staged the anti-Jewish trial known as the Beilis case. This case was framed up in the following way. In 1911, a gang of thieves in Kiev killed a Russian boy. The tsarist officials pounced upon this murder as a pretext for increasing the persecution of the Jews. The Public Prosecutor, supported by official experts who had been bribed for the purpose, charged a Jew named Beilis with the murder, alleging that he had committed the crime for "religious ends." This trial, which took place in 1913, roused a storm of protest among the entire progressive population of Russia and in all other countries. The jury acquitted Beilis.

of the largest metallurgical plants in the country, controlled two-thirds of the sales of the entire metallurgical industry. The Produgol, the abbreviated name of the Russian Company for Trading in the Mineral Fuel of the Donetz Basin, which was formed in 1906, gained control of about 60 per cent of the coal output of the Donetz Basin. The Prodarud Syndicate, which was formed in 1908, controlled four-fifths of the ore output of the south of Russia. The growth of syndicates in light industry was slower and feebler. In 1908 the syndicate known as the Cotton Manufacturers' Company (in Moscow) controlled 47 cotton mills. The organization of syndicates was accompanied by a rise in the prices of the goods manufactured by the industries they controlled.

The banks increasingly became the owners of the manufacturing enterprises. The small and medium banks merged and formed powerful banking combines. In 1908, for example, the St. Petersburg-Azov, the Orel, and the South Russian Banks combined to form the United Bank. In 1910, the Northern Bank merged with the Russo-Chinese and Russo-Asiatic Banks. More than half the total bank capital in Russia was controlled by seven big banks.

The concentration of industry and the banks was accompanied by the rapid fusion of bank capital with industrial capital. The banks financed joint-stock companies and helped them to reorganize. This had been exceptionally marked during the crisis. The biggest industrial and financial magnates were simultaneously chairmen of bank directorates and directors of syndicates. Thus, Putilov, the owner of numerous metallurgical plants, was chairman of the Board of the big Russo-Azov Bank and also director of the Prodomet, to which his plants were affiliated. In the textile industry enormous influence was exercised by the finance capital magnates Ryabushinsky, Prokhorov, Morozov and others.

In this period too finance capital rapidly merged with the state apparatus. The financial magnates felt quite at home in the Ministries of Finance, Industry and Trade, while prominent government officials, and even members of the royal family, held shares in banks and in industrial undertakings. Many retired ministers left their ministerial armchairs to take up positions as directors of the banks and joint-stock companies of which they were shareholders.

The influence of foreign capital in the Russian banks and industry increased after the revolution of 1905-1907. By 1914, out of a total capital amounting to 435,500,000 rubles belonging to eighteen of the chief joint-stock banks, 185,500,000 rubles, or 42.6 per cent, was foreign capital, divided as follows: German capital 17 per cent, French capital 21.9 per cent, and British capital 3 per cent. Thus, British and French capital together constituted the largest share. Foreign capital gained control of Russian industry by forming joint-stock companies through

The general upswing of the revolutionary proletarian struggle was stimulated by the events that occurred in the remote gold fields in Siberia that belonged to the Lena Gold Fields Company. This company was formed in 1908. Three-fourths of the shares belonged to British capitalists and the rest belonged to big Russian capitalists and high tsarist officials. Among the shareholders were capitalists like Putilov, bank directors like Vyshnegradsky, and a number of high St. Petersburg dignitaries. The British and Russian shareholders in the Lena Gold Fields Company drew profits amounting to over 7,000,000 rubles per annum. The gold-field workers were cruelly exploited and, in addition, were totally bereft of rights.

The gold fields were situated in the remote taiga, 1,700 kilometres from the railway. It was possible to get away from the place only during the navigation season on the river Lena. The conditions of labour were fixed by harsh contracts, and although the workers had no right to leave their jobs before the expiration of the contract they could be discharged at any time. Wages were paid only on the expiration of the contract; the provisions issued to the men at the company stores on account of wages were of the worst quality. The working day was fixed by contract at 10 to 11½ hours, but it was often extended at the arbitrary will of the management. The workers were completely in the power of the management who, to keep the workers in hand, had at their command a police force paid by the company. The Lena Gold Fields Company behaved like a feudal ruler. Byevozerov, the manager of the Lena Gold Fields, was called the uncrowned king of the taiga. In 1912, the gold fields were, as Lenin described them, one of "those corners where it seems as though serfdom existed but yesterday."

The atrocious conditions of labour, the holding up of wages, the sale of bad-quality provisions at exorbitant prices and the violence and tyranny of the management and the police often gave rise to unrest in the gold fields.

At the end of February 1912, a strike broke out on one of the sections where the conditions of the workers were exceptionally hard. It would have paid the management to close the section, but that would have meant breaking the contract, which was due to expire only in September. The management therefore set out to provoke the workers to break the contract themselves. The immediate cause of the strike was the issue of bad horse meat. The workers downed tools in protest and sent delegates to the other fields to bring the men out there. On March 1, the strike spread to a number of other sections. A strike committee was set up with the object of making the strike general. Strike committees were also set up in all the fields, and stewards were appointed in the living quarters. The Central Strike Committee opened negotiations with the management. Tulchinsky, the Regional Engineer, received the delegation with great courtesy and persuaded the Menshevik delegates to



Victims of the Shooting in the Lena Gold Fields. From a painting in the Museum of the Revolution, Moscow

lation. They stimulated the peasants to fight against the landlords and tsarism. The factory owners retaliated to the strikes by lockouts. The police and the secret police intensified their persecution of the strikers.

The strikes proceeded under the Bolshevik slogans of: "An 8-hour day, confiscation of the landlords' estates, and a democratic republic." These slogans were calculated to rouse for the struggle against tsarism not only the workers, but also the peasants and the men in the army.

The peasant movement, which had subsided after 1907, began to flare up again. The introduction of the Stolypin reform accelerated the process of class differentiation among the rural population. The conditions of the rural poor still further deteriorated, particularly after the famine of 1911 which affected about 30,000,000 peasants. The peasant movement directed against the landlords and the kulaks assumed the militant forms of incendiarism, trespass, tree felling, refusal to pay taxes, etc. Collisions between poor peasants and kulak "khutor"-farmers became more and more frequent.

Revolutionary outbreaks occurred also in the army. In 1912, a revolt broke out among the troops who were stationed in Turkestan, and fierce reprisals were taken against the mutineers. In June 1913, 52 sailors of the Baltic Fleet were tried by naval court-martial in Kronstadt on the charge of conspiring to cause a revolt. Strikes in protest against this trial of the revolutionary sailors broke out, and this indicated that the class-conscious working-class movement in tsarist Russia constituted a powerful political force.

As Comrade Stalin said, the mass revolutionary strikes showed that "... in Russia a tremendous popular revolution was rising, headed by the most revolutionary proletariat in the world, which possessed such an important ally as the revolutionary peasantry of Russia" (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1945, pp. 17-18).

The Bolshevik *Pravda*. The struggle that was waged by the proletariat was led by the Bolsheviks and proceeded under Bolshevik slogans. The revolutionary upswing created the urgent need for a militant daily political newspaper that could be read by the broad masses of the workers. Under the direction of Comrade Stalin, who had escaped from exile in Vologda, preparations were made for the publication of a popular daily newspaper, the *Pravda*.

In January 1912, the workers began to contribute funds for the purpose of starting such a workers' newspaper. Contributions came in from all parts of Russia. As Lenin wrote "... the creation of *Pravda* remains outstanding proof of the class consciousness, energy and solidarity of the Russian workers" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 45).

To be nearer to Russia, and to direct the election campaign, Lenin, in the summer of 1912, removed from Paris to Cracow. In Russia the Bolshevik election campaign was led by Comrade Stalin who, in September 1912, had again escaped from exile and had returned to St. Petersburg. The editorial offices of *Pravda* were used as staff headquarters for organizing the working class for the campaign. The Bolsheviks issued a document, drafted by Comrade Stalin, entitled "The Mandate of the Workingmen of St. Petersburg to Their Worker Deputy."

At election meetings the Bolsheviks denounced and exposed the compromising tactics of the Liquidators, and emerged victorious at the elections. Often the police came to the assistance of the Liquidators and banned meetings of workers' representatives. The workers voted in their separate curiae, apart from the rest of the population. Five Bolsheviks were elected by the workers to the State Duma—in the St. Petersburg, Moscow, Vladimir, Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav and Kostroma gubernias. A sixth Deputy elected on the Bolshevik panel turned out to be an agent provocateur. The Mensheviks secured the election of seven of their candidates, but these were in gubernias where there were no workers' curiae.

The Fourth State Duma, which assembled at the end of 1912, was as much a Black Hundred and Octobrist Duma as the Third Duma had been. Of a total of 410 Deputies, 170 were Rights. The Octobrists, who constituted the government party and had nearly 100 Deputies, were adherents of the Rights. The Cadets had 50 Deputies. They differed from the Octobrists only in that they indulged in "Left" phrases and in the Duma they acted jointly with the Octobrists. The petty bourgeoisie was represented by ten Trudoviki and seven Mensheviks.

The Bolsheviks in the Fourth State Duma. At first the Bolsheviks in the Fourth State Duma formed a single group with the Mensheviks, but the latter, taking advantage of their majority of one vote, systematically prevented the Bolsheviks from speaking in the Duma. In conformity with the decision of the Central Committee of the Party, the Bolshevik Deputies left the joint group and formed an independent Bolshevik group. The group maintained close contact with the masses of the workers and conducted extensive activities among them; it received numerous letters, declarations, resolutions, instructions and greetings from workers in all parts of Russia. One of the most effective means it employed for using the floor of the Duma was to interpellate the government in cases of acts of lawlessness and tyranny. The Bolshevik Deputies conducted their activities in the Duma under the direction of the Party Central Committee and of Lenin. The Deputies used to receive directives from Lenin and on several occasions went abroad to consult with him.

Second to that came the conflict of interests of imperialist Germany and tsarist Russia.

German imperialism was driving towards the Near East, into Turkey. The German banks gained control of the building of the railway that was to link Germany with Turkey, and German military instructors directed the organization of Turkish military forces in preparation for war against Russia and Great Britain.

The growth of Germany's economic and political influence in the Turkish empire would have placed her in control of the Black Sea Straits.

Ruling circles in Russia became increasingly imbued with the thought that "the road to Constantinople lies through Berlin," that is to say, through the destruction of the German empire.

Lenin described Great Britain, Germany and tsarist Russia as "three big highway robbers" and the chief factors in the world war, while the other countries were merely "non-independent allies." He emphasized that while the war for the redivision of the world affected the interests of *all* the imperialist powers, the chief instigator was Germany.

In the struggle for the redivision of the world all the participants in the world slaughter drew up predatory plans.

The plans of the German imperialists included the creation of a great German empire that was to embrace so-called "Middle Europe," to seize the Baltic Provinces and Poland, dismember Russia, deprive her of the Ukraine, subjugate the Balkan Peninsula and Turkey, deprive Great Britain of Egypt and India, and push France away from the English Channel, etc.

The plans of Austria, Germany's ally, were, with the aid of Germany, to dismember Serbia, annex Russian Poland and to subjugate the Ukraine and the Balkan Peninsula.

Great Britain's plans were to crush her principal rival, Germany, to destroy her navy and mercantile fleet, to seize the German colonies, and also to deprive Turkey of Mesopotamia and Palestine and finally annex Egypt.

The plans of France were to regain Alsace-Lorraine and seize the left bank of the Rhine, to crush Germany's military power, share the German colonies with Great Britain, and take part in the partition of the Turkish empire.

The plans of tsarist Russia were to gain possession of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, to seize Turkish Armenia, to dismember Austria-Hungary, and establish her influence in the Balkan Peninsula.

Japan's plans were to take advantage of the war in Europe to seize China with the assistance of Russian tsarism, and in the event of Russia's defeat to seize the Russian Far East.

Tsarist Russia too planned, with the aid of French capital, to carry out a big program of naval construction, but operations proceeded very slowly and when the war broke out in 1914, not one of the new battleships and cruisers which had been laid down were ready to put to sea.

Russia, the birthplace of the science of aviation, which was created by Professor N. E. Zhukovsky, did not manufacture aircraft, and the number of aircraft in Russia was insignificant. The very first Russian airmen astonished the world by their skill and fearlessness. In 1913, one of the most remarkable of them, P. N. Nesterov, looped the loop for the first time in the history of aviation and gained world-wide fame, but the ignorant military bigwigs not only failed to appreciate the importance of Nesterov's feat but censured him for "indiscipline" and fined him for losing some small instrument during his stunt.

Revolutionary Strikes on the Eve of the War. In November 1912, in an outline of the first declaration to be made by the Social-Democratic workingmen Deputies in the Duma, Lenin observed that the situation all over the world at that time was notable for the extreme intensification of the struggle which the working class was waging against the bourgeoisie, and for the fact that the achievement of Socialism was imminent.

In Russia the revolutionary proletarian struggle in the early part of 1914 assumed wide dimensions. On January 9, the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, over 250,000 workers went on strike and supported Bolshevik slogans. Particularly extensive and turbulent were the strikes that broke out in protest against the wholesale poisoning by fumes of the workingwomen who were employed in the rubber factories in St. Petersburg. The women fell sick because of the insanitary working conditions in the factories, added to the fact that they were in a state of utter physical exhaustion. The factory owners said that the workingwomen were themselves to blame, and claimed that the poisoning was due to the fact that the women, "observing Lent, had eaten fish which was tainted." In retaliation to the strikes the St. Petersburg Factory Owners' Association declared a lockout and threw as many as 70,000 workers on the street. In April the number of strikers rose still higher, and on May 1, it reached over half a million. During the first half of 1914, including the beginning of July, 1,500,000 workers went on strike. The proportion of political strikes was higher than in 1905, namely, 87 per cent.

A huge strike occurred in the oil fields in Baku in the summer of 1914. It was led by the Bolsheviks and was distinguished for its excellent organization, duration and stubbornness. The strikers presented both economic and political demands, such as an 8-hour day, the official recognition of the First of May as a holiday, and so forth. The multi-national proletariat of Baku came out solidly against the employers.

THE SECOND BOURGEOIS- DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Chapter V

TSARIST RUSSIA DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-MARCH 1917)

20. RUSSIA'S PART IN THE WORLD WAR

The Beginning of the World War. In July 1914, the world imperialist war, of which Germany was the instigator, broke out. This war was fought between two groups of imperialist countries: one, headed by Germany, constituted the Quadruple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey); the other, headed by the British and French imperialists, constituted the Triple Entente (Great Britain, France and Russia, and also Serbia and Belgium). In 1914, Japan joined the Triple Entente; Italy did the same in 1915, and the United States joined it in 1917. In all, 33 countries were involved in the war, and 74,000,000 men were mobilized for the various armies. The war cost 30,000,000 human lives and about 300,000,000,000 rubles in money.

As regards the number of countries that were involved all over the globe it was a world war, but in its aims it was an imperialist war, a war for the forcible redivision of the world.

As Lenin wrote: "In its real nature this war is not a national but an imperialist war.

"... The war is being waged between two groups of oppressors, between two robbers, to decide how to divide the booty, who is to plunder Turkey and the colonies" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 200).

This predatory war for the redivision of the world was prepared for in the course of decades and affected the interests of all the imperialist countries. Its immediate cause was Austria-Hungary's plan to crush Serbia, a plan that was supported by Germany, who counted on securing a redivision of the world in her own favour as the result of the development of the Austro-Serbian war into a world war.

its offensive and this enabled the German Command to throw the whole weight of its forces against General Samsonov's army. The operations of the two Russian armies were not co-ordinated. From intercepted and decoded telegrams sent by General Samsonov and Rennenkampf, and also through its own spies, the German Command learned of all the movements of the Russian troops. A large part of General Samsonov's army was surrounded by the Germans in the marshy and wooded region of the Masurian Lakes and was wiped out. Tens of thousands of Russian soldiers perished. General Samsonov committed suicide.

After defeating Samsonov's army, the Germans hurled their troops against Rennenkampf's army, which had remained inactive. Rennenkampf retreated to Russian territory, losing 110,000 men. But Paris was saved. By taking the blow upon herself, Russia saved her ally France from defeat.

In August 1914, simultaneously with the unsuccessful offensive in East Prussia, four Russian armies launched an offensive against Austria-Hungary on the Southwestern Front. The armies commanded by General Brusilov and Ruzsky defeated the Austro-Hungarian armies, occupied Lvov and Gorlice and surrounded the fortress of Przemysl. Nearly the whole of Galicia was occupied by the tsarist forces.

In the middle of September the German armies came to the assistance of Austria-Hungary by launching a wide offensive from the foothills of the Carpathians. In the middle of December 1914, the offensive was halted on both sides.

In the autumn of 1914, a new front was formed—the Caucasian Front. Two German warships, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, stole their way from the Mediterranean into the Black Sea and bombarded Feodosia and Odessa. After this, Turkey, who was bound by a military alliance with Germany, went to war against Russia. In December 1914, the Turkish army was defeated in the battle of Sari Quamish, after which the Russian troops on the Turkish Front slowly pushed forward. On the Austro-German Front, however, the belligerent sides were extremely exhausted and consequently passed over to trench warfare, meanwhile mustering forces for new decisive blows. At the end of April and the beginning of May 1915, a German army, under the command of General Mackenzen, supported on both flanks by Austrians, pierced the Russian Front between Gorlice and Tarnov thus compelling the Russian armies to beat a hasty retreat. The Austro-Hungarian troops occupied Przemysl and Lvov. In July, another German army occupied the fortress of Ivangorod. At the end of July German troops occupied Warsaw and Brest-Litovsk. The Germans developed their offensive and occupied Grodno and Vilna. Thus, by the autumn of 1915, Poland, Lithuania, part of the Baltic Provinces

countries tried to deceive the masses and make them believe that the war had been caused by the aggression of the enemy and was therefore a defensive war. The parties that were affiliated to the Second International betrayed the principles of internationalism and Socialism and helped the bourgeoisie to perpetrate this deception upon the masses. Playing upon the natural love of the common people for their country, they did all in their power to rally the masses for the imperialist war by concealing its true character and urging the necessity of defending the bourgeois fatherland.

On August 4, 1914, the German Social-Democrats, in defiance of the resolutions passed at international congresses of the Second International, voted with the German bourgeoisie in the Reichstag in favour of war credits. That same day, the French Socialists also voted for the war credits. "We are being attacked, we are defending ourselves," they assured the workers and peasants. In a number of countries (France, Belgium, Great Britain) the leaders of the socialist parties entered the imperialist governments. Thus, as Lenin wrote: "Overwhelmed by opportunism, the Second International has died" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, New York, 1930, p. 89). It broke up into separate social-chauvinist parties, engaged in war with one another. By the time the war broke out the opportunists degenerated into social-chauvinists.

The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries as the Vehicles of Chauvinism in Russia. At the beginning of the war chauvinist fever ran as high among the petty bourgeoisie in Russia as it did in other countries. In Petrograd, as St. Petersburg was renamed after the outbreak of war, university students who were called up for military service marched in procession to the Winter Palace to pay homage to the tsar. The Cadet-minded bourgeoisie called for the cessation of "internal controversy" for the duration of the war. At the very first session of the State Duma that was held after the outbreak of the war, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Trudoviki associated themselves with the solemn declaration made by the Octobrist Rodz'yanko, the President of the Duma, who called for "unity between the tsar and his faithful people." Behind the guise of socialist phrases, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks helped the bourgeoisie to deceive the people by calling upon them to "defend the fatherland," hence the term "Defencist" that was applied to the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. In the autumn of 1914, the Belgian Socialist Cabinet Minister Vandervelde sent a telegram to the Russian Socialists calling upon them to help in the prosecution of the war. In answer to this the Mensheviks wrote: "By our activities in Russia we are not hindering the prosecution of the war." Thus, the Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, like all the social-chauvinists of the Second International, openly spread



N. K. Krupskaya Visits V. I. Lenin in the Examining Magistrate's Room of the Prison in Novy Targ in 1914. *From a painting by M. Sokolov*

means to act not only as an anti-socialist, but also as an anti-national politician" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, New York, 1930, p. 190).

From the very outbreak of the war Lenin set out to form a new, Third International in place of the Second International, which had suffered a shameful collapse.

Lenin's policy of a complete rupture with the imperialists and of waging a determined struggle against the social-chauvinists and Centrists was vigorously carried out in Russia by the Bolshevik members of the Duma. They constituted the only legal group of Bolsheviks that had the opportunity of appealing to the masses, for with the outbreak of the war all the Bolshevik newspapers were suppressed, the prominent Party workers were arrested and exiled, the workers' organizations were wrecked and the more class-conscious and advanced workers were called up for military service and sent to the front. The five Bolshevik members of the Duma toured the country, visiting

21. BRUSILOV'S BREAKTHROUGH

The Military-Strategical Situation in the Beginning of 1916. Germany's plans for a *blitzkrieg* collapsed; the war became a prolonged one. Germany had less chance of winning a prolonged war than the Entente, as the latter possessed large resources of manpower and materiel. In 1915, the German High Command concentrated its main forces on the Eastern Front and strove to defeat the Russian army and compel Russia to conclude a separate peace. Its aim was to rid itself, in this way, of the second front in the East and to concentrate all its forces for the struggle in the West. The Germans did succeed in capturing a large area of Russian territory, but they failed to rout the Russian armies and the second front was not liquidated.

By the autumn of 1915, the German High Command came to the conclusion that it was useless to continue active operations against Russia and therefore began to make preparations for decisive operations on the Western Front. Leading Entente circles also realized that the respite the Entente had received in 1915 at Russia's expense had ended, and they too began to prepare for the anticipated German offensive on the Western Front. The military situation compelled the Allies to decide to smash their opponents in the Western and Eastern theatres of war by a series of successive decisive blows.

In the beginning of 1916, tsarist Russia intensified military operations on the Caucasian Front. In spite of the incredibly difficult fighting conditions in mountain terrain the Caucasian army stormed and captured Erzerum in February and Trebizond in April. Another Russian army launched a drive in the direction of Persia. But the offensive against Turkey was not pressed home as the Allies did not wish Turkey to be utterly defeated by Russia.

The strategical position of the Entente countries had now considerably improved. Their military technical forces had grown. The French and British armies were equipped with splendid artillery, and having succeeded in organizing the mass production of shells they now had a plentiful supply of these. Particularly well equipped was the fortress of Verdun, which covered the road to Paris. Lacking adequate forces for an offensive on other parts of the front the Germans, in February 1916, launched a drive precisely against this fortress in the hope of breaking through and gaining a decisive success. Within a short space of time the Germans fired against the Verdun fortifications over 2,000,000 shells. At the crucial moment they even resorted to asphyxiating gases, for it was the Germans who first used poison gas in the First World War.

To divert some of the German forces from Verdun the Allies demanded that the Russian armies should launch an offensive on the

of Bukovina and part of South Galicia and reached the passes of the Carpathian mountains. Brusilov's successful offensive compelled the enemy to transfer his reserves from the Italian and French Fronts to the Eastern Front. The German High Command effected such a transfer.

Brusilov's blow saved the Italians from defeat and eased the position of the French at Verdun. The whole Austro-German Front from Polesie to the Rumanian frontier was disorganized, and this created the possibility of inflicting decisive defeat upon the German coalition. But neither the Allies nor the Russian High Command followed up Brusilov's success in time. The Anglo-French troops failed to pass to the offensive at this crucial moment for the German army, thus enabling the German High Command to transfer considerable forces from the Western to the Eastern Front. Failing to receive the support of the other armies, Brusilov's offensive was checked, after fierce fighting involving heavy casualties, in the marshy terrain near the river Stokhod. This lack of co-ordination of active Allied operations was one of the factors which helped to prolong the war and to ease Germany's position in 1916.

22. GROWTH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

Economic Chaos in the Country. Despite the successes the Russian armies achieved on the Turkish and Southwestern Fronts it was already evident that tsarist Russia had lost the war. The main reason for the defeat of tsarism was Russia's economic and technical backwardness. The technically backward war industry was incapable of supplying the army with the munitions of war. In the rear, economic chaos reigned. Although the number of workers employed in industry almost doubled, the productivity of labour steadily declined.

Shortage of fuel led to the cutting down of production in the factories and mills. In 1916, thirty-six blast furnaces were blown out. The steel mills produced only half the metal that was needed for the war industry and metal deliveries to plants were rationed.

The railways could not cope with the traffic. The transport system was dislocated, as a result both of repeated military withdrawals and of the flood of refugees who poured from the regions occupied by the Germans into the hinterland of Russia. During hasty retreats large quantities of rolling stock were left in the hands of the enemy. Wrecked cars and locomotives blocked the roads. To allow trains to pass, trains ahead of them were sometimes thrown over the railway embankment. Owing to the lack of transport facilities even urgent supplies of war materiel obtained from the United States, Great Britain and France were not delivered on time. The military port of Archangel was so congested with war materiel that the lower cases literally sank into the ground under the weight of those on top of them.



Russian Soldiers on the March

Backed by the Mensheviks and the Trudovik group, this bloc demanded the formation of a "Cabinet of confidence," that is to say, the appointment of Cabinet Ministers who would enjoy the confidence of the bourgeois majority in the Duma. The tsarist government, however, refused to make any concessions and in September 1915, it issued a decree to prorogue the Duma "for recess."

During the war Russia's economic dependence upon British and French capital greatly increased. In return for credits amounting to 3,000,000,000 rubles, Great Britain demanded that the tsarist government should transfer to London a part of Russia's gold reserve as security for payment on war contracts. At the same time the Allies continuously kept demanding fresh reinforcements from Russia. In April 1916, the French "Socialists" Albert Thomas and Viviani were sent to Russia to demand the despatch of 400,000 Russian soldiers to France. Only a proletarian revolution could save Russia from being utterly converted into a colony of foreign imperialism.

The Revolutionary Situation in the Country. At the end of 1915, a revolutionary situation began to develop in the country. The war and the economic chaos caused extreme discontent among the masses of the working people who were obliged to bear the whole brunt of the war. The conditions of the working class had greatly deteriorated during the period of the war. The insignificant "war bonus" was insufficient to cover the rising cost of living. High prices, shortage of food and the eternal queues, particularly wore out the women work-

the war strengthened anti-war temper in the most backward and remote villages. The Department of Police noted the growth of propaganda conducted by peasants against the further recruitment of soldiers for the war. One such rural propagandist is reported to have said: "Our tsar is throwing the people into the war like an extravagant cook throwing logs in the stove."

Information about the disastrous condition of peasant farming reached the army. Worn out by the protracted war and enraged by the ruination of their farms at home the soldiers refused to go into action against the enemy, voluntarily surrendered, inflicted wounds upon themselves and deserted in masses. In 1916 the number of deserters was estimated to have exceeded 1,500,000.

The Activities of the Bolsheviks During the War. The Bolsheviks developed extensive activities in the army and in the navy. They formed underground military organizations in the army units and printed and distributed revolutionary leaflets in which they called for fraternization between the soldiers of the belligerent armies and stressed that their common enemy was the imperialist bourgeoisie, and that the only way they could end the war was by turning their weapons against the bourgeoisie and their governments.

In the autumn of 1915, fraternization commenced at the front. The Russian soldiers left their trenches to mingle with the enemy soldiers. The soldiers of both sides treated each other to cigarettes and understood each other perfectly even though they did not know each other's language. This fraternization strengthened the international unity of the working people in both lines of trenches.

By the end of 1916, the letters which the soldiers sent home from the front reflected their growing hatred of the war and of tsarism. One soldier wrote: "The soldiers today are not what they were during the Japanese War; under the mask of slavish obedience there burns frightful anger. It is enough to light a tiny match for this mass to flare up." The conscripted workers, many of whom had taken part in the revolution of 1905, conducted propaganda in favour of another revolution.

A number of leading Bolsheviks were active in the army. M. V. Frunze, who escaped from prison in 1915, secured a situation in the Union of the Zemstvos under the assumed name of Mikhailov. He formed an underground Bolshevik organization in Minsk and established close contacts with the soldiers on the Russian Western Front. A. A. Zhdanov, mobilized into the army, conducted energetic Bolshevik propaganda among the troops. V. V. Kuibyshev was active in the pipe works in Samara, and S. M. Kirov was active in the Caucasus, rousing the most backward and downtrodden highlanders for the struggle against tsarism. In Kiev, and later in Ekaterinoslav, L. M. Kaganovich conducted propaganda among the

During the period of the war the movement for national liberation was rapidly heading towards a revolutionary uprising against imperialism. Lenin and Stalin pointed out that the revolutionary movement for national liberation of the oppressed nationalities was a reserve of the proletarian revolution. The Bolsheviks waged a determined struggle against national oppression in Russia and in other countries, and upheld the right of nations to self-determination and the international unity of the working class in its struggle for Socialism.

The Bolsheviks denounced the policy of national oppression pursued by tsarism and the imperialist bourgeoisie. ". . . As far as Russia is concerned," wrote Lenin at this time, "the war is doubly reactionary and hostile to national liberation" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, New York, 1930, p. 226).

The Revolt in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The war imposed great suffering upon the oppressed peoples of tsarist Russia. In its quest for fresh sources of revenue for the purpose of financing the war, the tsarist government imposed additional taxes on the inhabitants of the outlying regions. The peoples of Central Asia were subjected to exceptionally cruel exploitation. In the settled cotton-growing regions, the exploiters enmeshed the entire population in a net of enslaving contracts. During the period of the war the area under cotton increased 50 per cent, but the peasant growers could not enjoy the produce of their labour. They delivered the greater part of their crop to the landlords in payment for rent, and sold the remainder at ridiculously low prices fixed by the government to the disadvantage of the poor peasants. Meanwhile, the price of manufactured goods rose to an enormous extent. The Uzbek peasant cotton growers were threatened by famine, as they grew scarcely any grain themselves and little grain was shipped into the region owing to the dislocation of the railways.

Conditions in the nomadic and semi-nomadic regions of Central Asia and Kazakhstan were even worse. The government continued to drive the Kirghiz and Kazakh herdsmen from their pastures in order to provide land for Russian settlers. In 1915, 1,800,000 hectares of the best land of the Kazakh and Kirghiz were granted to Russian landlords, government officials and kulaks. The continuous requisition of horses, cattle and wool for war purposes utterly ruined the herdsmen. The tyranny of the local authorities and the levies they imposed still further worsened the hard lot of the people.

The immediate cause of the extensive revolt of the working people in Central Asia was the order issued by the tsarist government in June 1916, conscripting the inhabitants from the age of nineteen to forty-three for the purpose of digging trenches and performing other work at the front, in spite of the fact that according to the laws of

expedition of Cossack troops sent against them succeeded in forcing the rebels to cross the frontier into Persia. The revolt was suppressed with ruthless cruelty. The punitive army burned down the herdsmen's encampments, and seized their property and cattle. In a number of counties more than half the population was wiped out. The Governor General, Kuropatkin, put 347 of the rebels on trial, and of these 51 were executed. In the case of the others sentence of death was commuted to penal servitude. Several hundred rebels were exiled without trial. After the revolt was suppressed many thousands of Kirghiz and Kazakh refugees, with their families and herds, wandered into China and Mongolia, while the Turkmens crossed over into Persia. On leaving their habitations the refugees sold the remnants of their property to the rich and to the *bai* (kulaks) for a mere song; but in the countries in which they had taken refuge they were also subjected to persecution. After Soviet rule was established in Russia many of the refugees returned home.

24. EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN RUSSIA BEFORE THE REVOLUTION (1907-1917)

Education and Science. The revolution of 1905-1907 had roused among the masses of the people a tremendous thirst for knowledge. During the period of the revolution a large number of educational societies were formed, and adult schools and study courses, libraries, people's universities, etc., were opened. During the period of reaction, however, the tsarist government suppressed most of these educational societies and institutions. The first to suffer were the educational societies which had been formed by the workers and the non-Russian nationalities. Among these were the Knowledge Is Strength Society, The Educational Society, The Self-Educational Society, The Voluntary High School, which had been organized by P. F. Lesgaft, a number of educational study courses, nearly all the People's universities, and many of the elementary educational societies. But the tsarist government was unable to crush the people's desire for knowledge.

The needs of developing capitalism, the growing economic and political intercourse with the more cultured European countries, and lastly, the steps which the tsarist government itself was taking towards a bourgeois monarchy, compelled the government to increase the extremely insignificant funds hitherto allocated for education in Russia.

The industrial boom of 1912-1914 confronted the bourgeoisie with the need for training technical personnel which were practically non-existent in tsarist Russia. The number of students in technical colleges in 1914 was twice that in 1903.

With funds provided by the Zemstvo and private capitalists,

versity and his assistants for failing to take adequate measures against the "mutinous" students. In protest against this act of bureaucratic tyranny 125 professors and lecturers of the Moscow University, among whom were K. A. Timiryazev, Professor of Physics P. N. Lebedev, and others, resigned.

To combat the revolutionary student movement the government encouraged the formation in the higher educational establishments of Black Hundred student organizations, such as the Academic Union, and others, which were connected with the Union of Russian People.

The state of the universities to some extent determined the state of science in Russia. The university chairs trained an inadequate number of scientific research workers and there were few scientific research institutes in tsarist Russia. The Imperial Academy of Sciences produced no works of any great scientific value, and the President of the Academy was the tsar's uncle Konstantin Romanov, who knew nothing about science.

The genuine scientists who sprang from the ranks of the people received neither recognition nor assistance. The great genetics selectionist, I. V. Michurin, was not recognized as a scientific researcher, in spite of the fact that scientists from other countries came to him to study his methods. The same applied to another great scientist, K. E. Tsiolkovsky, who constructed a dirigible airship ten years before the Zeppelin appeared, and who formulated the principles of the jet-propelled engine; he was obliged to remain a teacher of mathematics in Kaluga and conduct his scientific researches with his own very modest resources. The outstanding mechanician, the father of Russian aviation, N. E. Zhukovsky, devoted himself to the study of aerial dynamics and the theory of the flight of aircraft, but the results of his work found application only under the Soviet regime. The first Russian airmen, Rossinsky, Utochkin and others, performed their flights at the risk of their lives in badly constructed aeroplanes provided by professional showmen for the purpose of public entertainment.

The plan proposed by the Arctic explorer, G. Y. Sedov in 1912, for an expedition to the North Pole was met with hostility and ridicule. It was only with great difficulty that Sedov, with the aid of private contributions, fitted out the *St. Phœcia* and started out on his expedition, which was inadequately organized. Eventually, the ship was caught in the ice and Sedov, accompanied by two sailors, abandoned the ship and attempted to reach the Pole on foot, but they only succeeded in reaching Rudolf Island, where, in the winter of 1914, the brave explorer died of hunger and cold. The remains of Sedov's grave on Rudolf Island were only recently discovered.

Thus, scientific discoveries, research and expeditions were treated

sentative of *proletarian* art, who has done a great deal for this art and is capable of doing still more in the future" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, Moscow, 1934, p. 36).

Another challenge to the old decaying world was the poetry of the young poet Vladimir Mayakovsky. His poem "Cloud in Pants," written in 1914, was a hymn to life, love and the struggle. Mayakovsky proclaimed himself the "drummer boy of the revolution" and welcomed its coming.

The call for the struggle for the new way of life was also sounded in the works of the Ukrainian authoress Lesya Ukrainka, whose art reached its peak in the darkest years of reaction. The writer's fate was a tragic one: she was bedridden with tuberculosis in a severe form, but her work, which was strongly influenced by Pushkin's poetry, breathed ardent sympathy for the people who were rising against the autocracy, and sounded a call for the struggle against the oppressors.

In 1913, untimely death carried away another great artist in the field of literature in the person of M. M. Kotsyubinsky. Kotsyubinsky commenced his literary career in the 1880's and 1890's by ruthlessly denouncing the liberal Narodnik intelligentsia and the monstrosities of peasant life. In the period of the 1905 revolution he definitely became the mouthpiece of revolutionary peasant democracy. In his most important work, *Fata Morgana*, he describes with profound sympathy the revolt of the peasants and reveals his hatred for the landlords and the kulaks.

In 1916, the most popular of Jewish authors, Sholem Alechem, the *nom de plume* of Sholem Rabinovich, died. Maxim Gorky described him as an "artist in melancholy and grave humour." In his series of humorous tales: *Tobias the Milkman*, *The Memoirs of a Commercial Traveller*, and others, he described with great artistic realism and sincere sympathy the joyless life of the Jewish poor.

Art in this period reflected the same ideas and moods as were reflected in literature. In painting, decorative themes came to the forefront (the "World of Art" group represented by Roerich, Benois and others). The same tendency to escape from realism into the world of inner emotions and external formalistic searchings was reflected in sculpture (P. P. Trubetskoy, Konenkov, and others).

The work of the outstanding composer A. N. Scriabin (1871-1915) an innovator of musical form, contained elements of mysticism and symbolism ("A Divine Poem," and others).

attempt to transform "the seething revolutionary energy into words" and to "substitute resolutions for revolution." Nevertheless, bourgeois circles had lost their former "confidence" in the government. The government became panic-stricken and began to indulge in what was called "Ministerial leapfrog," i. e., constantly dismissing ministers and replacing them by others. During the period of the war there were no less than four Presidents of the Council of Ministers, six Ministers of the Interior, four Ministers of War, three Ministers of Foreign Affairs, four Ministers of Agriculture and four Ministers of Justice. As was said in the Duma, the changes were so fast that it was impossible to "get a good look at the faces of the Ministers who fell."

In November 1916, the Fourth State Duma reassembled after the summer recess in an atmosphere of extreme political tension. The revolutionary crisis in the country was growing with catastrophic speed. The time had come when the ruling classes could no longer govern in the old way and the working people would no longer live in the old way. In its report on the political situation in the country, the Department of Police was obliged to admit that "opposition temper has now reached such exceptional dimensions that it far exceeds that which prevailed among the broad masses in the turbulent period of 1905-1906."

Even the Grand Dukes and the higher aristocracy sensed the impending collapse of tsarism and demanded the removal of Rasputin, whom they regarded as the chief cause of all the trouble in the country. On the night of December 17, 1916, Rasputin was killed by conspirators, among whom were relatives of the tsar, and his body was thrown into an ice hole on the river Neva. The assassination of Rasputin, however, could not, of course, alter the situation in the country. The tsarist government resolved to take drastic measures to crush the revolutionary masses. Its plan was to conclude a separate peace with Germany, dissolve the Duma, and then concentrate its main blow against the working class. It intended to draw troops, including artillery, to the capital and to do so in good time. The war factories were to be militarized in order to place the workers under military law. The Petrograd Military Area, which came within the area of the Northern Front, was formed into a separate military area under the command of General Khabalov, a most reactionary general. The police force in the capital was put on a war footing and supplied with machine guns. Maklakov, formerly Minister of the Interior, wrote to the tsar demanding that the sternest measures be taken to combat the revolutionary movement in order "to restore order in the state at all costs and ensure victory over the internal enemy who has long been becoming more dangerous, more fierce and more insolent than the external enemy."



Barricades on the Liteiny Prospect, Petrograd, February 1917

political strike. In all, 90,000 men and women workers struck work that day. The political strike began to develop into a general political demonstration against tsarism.

Next day, February 24, 200,000 workers were on strike. Revolutionary meetings were held in all parts of the city. The police occupied the bridges across the Neva, but the workers streamed towards the centre of the city over the ice. On February 25, the political strikes in the different districts of Petrograd developed into a general political strike of the workers of the whole city. From General Headquarters the tsar sent the officer commanding the Petrograd Military Area the following order: "I command you to put a stop to the disorders in the capital not later than tomorrow." The police began to fire upon the demonstrators with machine guns that were posted on the roofs of houses. The streets and squares in the centre of the city were occupied by troops. Large numbers of workers and Bolsheviks were arrested and flung into prison, among them members of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik Party. The revolt at that time was directed by the Bureau of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Molotov.

V. M. Molotov had returned to Petrograd in 1916, after escaping from the Irkutsk Gubernia, where he had been exiled in 1915. On Lenin's instructions he was appointed to the Russian Bureau of the

obliged to turn and make for Pskov, the Headquarters of the Northern Front.

Everywhere the troops went over to the side of the revolution.

26. THE DUAL POWER

The Formation of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. On February 27 (March 12 new style), the revolution triumphed.

Armed workers and soldiers liberated political prisoners from the prisons. The victorious workers and soldiers marched to the Taurida Palace where the members of the dissolved Duma were gathered. Hardly had the fighting ended than Comrade Molotov, member of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, arrived at the palace.

The idea of Soviets lived on in the minds of the people ever since the days of the 1905 revolution, and they put this idea into effect immediately on the overthrow of tsarism. Even while fighting was still in progress in the streets the workers in the factories and mills were already electing their first Deputies to the Soviets. Comrade Molotov sent Bolshevik soldiers to the various regiments of the Petrograd garrison with instructions to organize the election of Deputies to the Soviet from each military unit.

Thus, unlike what occurred in 1905, when only Soviets of Workers' Deputies were formed, in February 1917, a joint Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was formed. The first meeting of the Petrograd Soviet took place in the evening of February 27.

The Petrograd Soviet and its Executive Committee proved to be under the control of representatives of the compromising parties—the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries—who managed to secure election while the Bolsheviks were in the streets leading the workers' insurrection. Another factor that influenced the elections was that most of the leaders of the Bolshevik Party were still in prison or in exile. Tsarism had torn the leaders of the Bolshevik Party out of the ranks of the working class: Lenin was a political emigrant abroad, Stalin was in exile in distant Siberia. The Mensheviks, however, had remained at large, and posing as the champions of freedom they deceived the workers and soldiers and got themselves elected to the Soviets as their representatives. The rate of representation also helped the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries to obtain a majority in the Soviets; the rate of representation for large plants was one Deputy per 1,000 workers, but plants employing less than 1,000 workers could also elect one Deputy. The result was that the big plants, where Bolshevik influence was strongest, received only as many seats in the Soviet as the small plants in which Menshevik influence predominated. The

Similar scenes occurred in February and March all over Russia. As Lenin figuratively expressed it, the blood-and mud-stained cart of the Romanov monarchy was overturned at one stroke.

The Provisional Government. The revolution was brought about by the workers and the peasants in soldier's uniform, but they were robbed of the fruits of their victory. The Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks were of the opinion that the revolution was already over and that the main thing now was to set up a "normal" bourgeois government. On the night of March 1, behind the backs of the Bolsheviks, they reached an agreement with the members of the Duma to form such a government. In the morning of March 2, the appointment of a Provisional Government headed by Prince Lvov, a big landlord, was announced. Among the members of this government was Milyukov, leader of the Cadet Party, professor of history, who was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs; Guchkov, leader of the Octobrist Party, a manufacturer and banker, head of the War Industry Committees, who was appointed Minister of War and Marine; Konovalov, member of the Progressive Party and textile mill owner, was appointed Minister of Commerce and Industry; and the millionaire sugar manufacturer Tereshchenko was appointed Minister of Finance. Of the eleven Ministers only one was a "Socialist," the People's Socialist (later Socialist-Revolutionary) Kerensky, a lawyer, who received the minor post of Minister of Justice.

In his first "Letter from Afar," Lenin described this government in the following words: "This government is not a fortuitous assemblage of persons. They are representatives of the new class that has risen to political power in Russia, the class of capitalist landlords and bourgeoisie, the class that for a long time *has been ruling* our country economically. . . ." (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. I, Moscow, 1947, p. 739.)

The first steps the new bourgeois government took were directed towards saving the monarchy. Behind the back of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, Guchkov and Shulgin went to the deposed tsar in Pskov, and in the name of the Provisional Government urged him to abdicate in favour of his son Alexei. The tsar consented to abdicate in favour of his brother Michael. The bourgeoisie were willing to accept even this new tsar. On his return to Petrograd Guchkov addressed a meeting of the workers in the railway workshops and after reading the manifesto announcing the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II he concluded with the cry: "Long live Emperor Michael!" The indignant workers demanded Guchkov's immediate arrest. "Horse-radish is no sweeter than radish," they said.

Realizing that it was impossible to save the monarchy, the Provisional Government sent a deputation to Michael Romanov to request him to abdicate and transfer power to itself. On March 3, Michael

property owners, handicraftsmen, shopkeepers and kulaks had poured into the factories in order to escape military service. It was this petty-bourgeois stratum of the workers, together with the small "labour aristocracy," that served as the main prop of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The politically mature and most class-conscious section of the proletariat belonged to the Bolshevik Party; but during the war most of these were either in prison, in exile, or at the front.

The vast masses of the workers, soldiers and peasants, formerly downtrodden by tsarism, betrayed naive confidence in the Provisional Government, which they believed, had been created by the revolution, and in the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, who were the worst enemies of peace and Socialism.

Russia. The bourgeois, landlord, Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary newspapers proclaimed in different keys that "without victory at the front there can be no freedom."

The workers, soldiers and peasants, however, persistently demanded the termination of the hated war, and as a result of their pressure the Petrograd Soviet on March 14 issued an appeal to the peoples of Europe calling for a "just democratic peace without annexations or indemnities." This appeal did not, however, indicate any concrete measures for the struggle for peace; it merely fostered the illusion that an imperialist war can terminate with a "just peace" without the overthrow of the imperialist governments. But even this compromise appeal of the Soviet roused the protests of the Entente governments.

The Provisional Government hastened to assure the Allies of its readiness to prosecute the war to a victorious finish. For the purpose of continuing the war it floated a "Liberty Loan" to the amount of 6,000,000,000 rubles, and the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries supported this measure.

The bourgeois Provisional Government tried to preserve the old order after the revolution; the land remained in the possession of the landlords, and the factories in the possession of the capitalists. Protecting the interests of the employers, it refused to pass a law introducing an 8-hour day; the workers instituted the 8-hour day on their own accord. Protecting the interests of the landlords, the government, in March, sent troops to the Kursk, Mogilev and Perm Gubernias to suppress the incipient peasant movement there. In April it circulated an order to Gubernia Commissar calling upon them to crush revolutionary actions of the peasants "by all means, including the calling out of military forces." At the same time it passed a law on the protection of grain fields, which provided for the payment of compensation to landlords for damage caused by "popular unrest." The Ministry of Agriculture, of which the Cadet Shingaryov was the head, set up Conciliation Boards consisting of peasants and landlords for the purpose of settling disputes between them "by voluntary agreement." The Provisional Government introduced no reforms whatever; it postponed all reforms until the "convocation of the Constituent Assembly," which, however, it was in no hurry to convene.

The Provisional Government left intact the entire administrative machinery of the old regime. The Provincial Governors were replaced by Provincial Commissars, these posts being filled by chairmen of gubernia and county Zemstvo Administrations, most of whom were landlords and arrant monarchists. The Minister of Justice, the Socialist-Revolutionary Kerensky, left all the tsarist procurators in their posts. The former tsarist ministers and high government officials continued to receive huge pensions. Neither titles (prince, count, baron,



V. I. Lenin on the Way to Petrograd in April 1917
From a painting by V. Morakov

controlled by the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, and the immediate institution of Soviet control over the social production and distribution of products.

Another of Lenin's proposals was that the Bolshevik Party should drop the name of Social-Democratic Party, which had been discredited and disgraced by the opportunists, traitors to Socialism, and adopt the name of Communist Party, as Marx and Engels had called the proletarian party. By adopting this name the Party emphasized that its ultimate goal was Communism.

Lenin also set the task of forming a new, Third, Communist International.

Kamenev, Rykov and the other opportunists who were opposed to the transition to the socialist revolution joined the Mensheviks in opposing Lenin's theses. The entire Party, however, unanimously adopted Lenin's theses which outlined a masterly plan of the party's struggle for the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

Lenin's April Theses served as the basis for all the decisions that were adopted by the Seventh All-Russian Conference of the Bolshevik Party that was held in April 1917 (hence known as the April Conference). At this conference Kamenev, Rykov and Zinoviev opposed Lenin's plan for the development of the bourgeois-democratic into a socialist revolution. They repeated the Menshevik argument that Russia had not yet matured for a socialist revolution, and that only bourgeois rule could be established. The conference, however, supported Lenin's theses and denounced the enemies of Socialism.

The conference adopted a resolution demanding that the landlords' estates be confiscated and placed at the disposal of the Peasant Committees.

Comrade Stalin delivered a report on the national question in which he substantiated the Bolshevik program demands for the right of nations to self-determination, including the right to secede and



J. V. Stalin in 1917

sional Government's imperialist policy. The bourgeoisie in their turn organized a demonstration of armed officers, cadets, university students and shopkeepers who carried the slogan: "Confidence in the Provisional Government!" General Kornilov, Commander of the Petrograd Military Area, issued an order to the troops to fire on the demonstrating working people, but the soldiers refused to obey the order of this counter-revolutionary general.

The April demonstration showed that the masses were beginning to waver in their confidence towards the Provisional Government and the compromising parties, but that it was still premature to set the task of immediately overthrowing the Provisional Government.

The April demonstration of the masses signified a crisis of the Provisional Government. When the bourgeoisie saw that they would be unable to secure complete power through the medium of the Cadet and Octobrist Ministers, they resorted to a manoeuvre: they removed from the government the ministers that were most hateful to the people and agreed to the appointment of several representatives of the compromising parties to posts in the government.

On May 2, Milyukov and Guchkov were removed from the Provisional Government. The reorganized government consisted of representatives of the bourgeoisie and a number of Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Thus, V. M. Chernov, the head of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, became Minister of Agriculture, the Menshevik Tsereteli became Minister of Post and Telegraph, the Menshevik Skobelev became Minister of Labour. That was how the first coalition Provisional Government was made up. The entry of Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries into the coalition government signified the open desertion of the compromising parties to the camp of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

As Lenin wrote: "The bourgeoisie has begun to use them [the compromisers] as its cat's paw; it has started doing such things *through them* as it could never have done without them." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Bk. 2, New York, 1929, p. 230).

The policy of the coalition government differed in no way from that of the Milyukov and Guchkov government. The "Socialist" Ministers acted in conformity with the instructions of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The Socialist-Revolutionary Kerensky, who took Guchkov's place as Minister of War, on the demand of the Entente began to prepare for an offensive. The Socialist-Revolutionary Chernov, the Minister of Agriculture, ordered stronger measures to be taken to combat the seizure of the landlords' land by the peasants. The Menshevik Minister of Labour, Skobelev, while helping the capitalists, called upon the workers to display "self-denial" and complained that their "wages were too high." The People's Socialist Peshekhonov,

in the minority, the Bolsheviks were successful in exposing the compromising policy of the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries.

The main item on the agenda of this congress was the question of the attitude to be taken towards the coalition Provisional Government. The Menshevik Tsereteli tried to scare the congress by stating that the revolution would be doomed if the coalition with the bourgeoisie were abandoned. "There is no political party in Russia at the present time," he said, "that would express its readiness to take entire power upon itself." Lenin at once shouted from his seat: "There is such a party!" And then, mounting the platform, he said: "I say there is! . . . Our party does not refuse it; it is prepared at any moment to take over entire power" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. II, Moscow, 1947, pp. 59-60).

Lenin strongly denounced the compromising policy that was pursued by the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who were helping to prolong the war and assisting the bourgeoisie in every way, and he concluded his speech with the demand that all power be transferred to the Soviets.

While the congress was in session the Bolsheviks were making preparations for a demonstration of Petrograd workers and soldiers under the slogans of "All power to the Soviets!", "Down with the ten capitalist Ministers!", "Bread, peace and freedom!" Dreading the growing influence of the Bolsheviks, the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary leaders of the congress secured the passage of a resolution prohibiting all demonstrations for three days. At the same time the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet called for a general demonstration on June 18, with the intention of making its watchword "Confidence in the Provisional Government!" The compromisers anticipated that this would be a patriotic demonstration to mark the launching of the offensive at the front. The Bolsheviks called upon the workers and soldiers to join in this demonstration,



V. M. Molotov in 1917

as an index of the growing revolutionary spirit of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd, of their readiness to fight for the Bolshevik slogans. It was a defeat for the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties which supported the Provisional Government.

The June Offensive. On the demand of the British and French imperialists, the Provisional Government prepared to launch an offensive at the front. In April 1917, the United States entered the World War, but considerable time was required to transport the American troops to the theatre of war. The governments of the Entente countries wanted at all costs to keep the Russian Front active in order to prevent the Germans from transferring troops to the Western Front, and they threatened to deprive the Provisional Government of loans and subsidies if it did not immediately launch an offensive and so draw German troops away from the Western Front. In addition, the Russian bourgeoisie saw in an offensive the only way of putting a stop to the revolution. They calculated that if it failed they could throw the blame on the Soviets and the Bolsheviks and crush them.

Kerensky, the Minister of War, speeded up the preparations for the offensive. Troop trains carrying reinforcements and trains loaded with ammunition and supplies were sent to the front lines, and Kerensky himself toured the different fronts haranguing the soldiers and urging them to fight. That was why the soldiers dubbed him "Persuader-in-Chief."

The offensive was launched on June 18, and at first proceeded successfully, particularly in the case of the Eighth Army, which pierced the Austrian Front and moved its divisions into the breach. A few days later, however, the offensive petered out. Reinforcements arrived slowly, and the army command was unable to develop the first successes. The offensive came to a halt.

Shortly afterwards the Austro-German troops launched a counter-offensive, inflicted defeat on the Russian army at Tarnopol and forced it to beat a rapid retreat. During the ten days of the offensive the Russian Southwestern Front lost about 60,000 men. War weariness and discontent among the troops, their desire for peace, and their distrust of and downright enmity towards the counter-revolutionary officers were factors which contributed to the failure of the offensive.



"Into the Offensive"
Cartoon by unknown artist

been elected in 1916, was convened. But actually, neither the Sejm nor the Senate were given any power. The Provisional Government sent a Commissioner to Finland and refused to recognize her independence.

Finnish army officers opened negotiations with Wilhelm II with the object of obtaining his assistance in severing Finland from Russia. The Finnish bourgeoisie hoped with the assistance of the German imperialists not only to separate Finland from Russia, but also to launch a civil war against the Finnish workers. In the guise of athletic clubs they began to form reactionary "maintenance of order squads."

The Finnish proletariat were emphatically opposed to an alliance with German imperialism against Russia, where tsarism had been overthrown, and ardently supported the Russian revolution.

In the endeavour to achieve Finland's independence, the Finnish Sejm, in July, passed a law defining the supreme powers of the Sejm. In retaliation to this, the Provisional Government, following the example of the tsarist government, dissolved the Sejm.

The Bolsheviks headed by Lenin and Stalin denounced the imperialist policy of the Provisional Government and demanded recognition of Finland's right to self-determination, including secession.

Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia after the February Revolution. By the beginning of 1917, the greater part of Lithuania was occupied by German troops. At a conference of representatives of Lithuanian kulaks, landlords and the bourgeoisie that was held in Vilna, a Taryba, or National Council, was formed. The German authorities tried to convert the Taryba into an obedient tool of their own, and wishing to entrench themselves in Lithuania they played up to the Lithuanian bourgeoisie and promised to recognize the independence of Lithuania if she officially seceded from Russia.

A considerable part of Latvia was also occupied by German troops during the world war. Latvia was the most capitalistically-developed of the Baltic countries. The war had caused it great devastation. The Northern Front ran through Latvia; more than half the country was furrowed with trenches and affected by military operations. The crops were destroyed, and cattle breeding had declined. The commercial and economic life of the country was almost at a standstill and industry was severely damaged. On the outbreak of the war a number of the plants, and the workers employed in them, were evacuated to the interior of Russia, and after Latvia was occupied by the Germans the rest of the industrial plants were either wrecked or transported to Germany. The conditions of the masses of the working people were extremely hard during the occupation. Relying on the support of the Latvian barons, the German imperial-

Petliura. In the beginning of June, the Central Rada issued an address to the Ukrainian people, proclaiming the autonomy of the Ukraine. The petty-bourgeois Central Rada did not dare to go to the length of a rupture with the Provisional Government, as it feared to remain alone, face to face with the revolutionary masses of workers and peasants; it therefore sought a compromise with the Russian bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the Provisional Government needed the support of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie during the offensive, and it therefore sent four Ministers, headed by Kerensky, to negotiate with the Rada.

The upshot of these negotiations was that in the summer of 1917, a new administrative body consisting of representatives of the Central Rada was set up in Kiev. This body was known as the General Secretariat, and its function was to co-operate with the Provisional Government's Commissioner in the Ukraine as the representative of the supreme authority. The final settlement of the political structure of the Ukraine was put off until the Constituent Assembly.

Lenin was of the opinion that the demand for Ukrainian autonomy was "very modest and very legitimate." The Bolsheviks denounced both the great-power policy pursued by the imperialist Provisional Government and the compromising policy of the Central Rada, and called upon the Ukrainian workers and peasants to fight jointly with the Russian workers and peasants against the imperialist bourgeoisie for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Byelorussian Central Rada. In the middle of March 1917, the First Congress of Byelorussian nationalist parties and organizations was held in Minsk. These bodies were united in the Byelorussian National Committee headed by the landlord Skirmunt. In June 1917, this committee convened a congress of representatives of Byelorussian bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties at which the Byelorussian Central Rada was formed. Under cover of national slogans, the nationalists tried to keep the Byelorussian workers and peasants out of the revolutionary struggle, but at the same time they expressed readiness to organize the administration of Byelorussia "in co-operation with the Provisional Government." Like the bourgeois nationalists everywhere, those in Byelorussia concluded an alliance with the bourgeoisie of the dominant, Russian nation for the purpose of combatting the revolutionary movement.

The Byelorussian Bolsheviks strongly combated the Byelorussian Central Rada. An exceptionally important part in this struggle against the bourgeois nationalists was played by M. V. Frunze, who was then at the head of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Peasants' Deputies; at the First Congress of Peasants' Deputies of the Minsk and Vilna Gubernias he exposed the counter-revolutionary nature of the Byelorussian nationalists. The Bolsheviks established closer contacts

Emir, remained in power after the February revolution. The Provisional Government sent a Commissar to Khiva who acted hand in hand with the Khan. In Bukhara, the working people demanded the limitation of the power of the Emir. Fearing a popular insurrection, the representative of the Provisional Government in Bukhara advised the Emir to issue a manifesto promising reforms, but shortly afterwards the Emir, with the knowledge of the Provisional Government, arrested and executed the advocates of reform.

Thus, the peoples of Central Asia failed to achieve either social or national liberation as a result of the February revolution.

Not only that. In Turkmenia the Provisional Government continued, until it was overthrown, the punitive policy which the tsarist government had pursued against the Yomuds, who rose in revolt in 1916.

30. THE JULY CRISIS

The Demonstration of July 3-5. The war was costing the country 40,000,000 rubles per day. To cover this expenditure the government issued a huge quantity of paper currency, the value of which steadily dropped while the cost of living rose. There was a shortage of raw materials and fuel for industry and of bread for the workers. The transport system was completely dislocated. Factories and mills closed down. In May, 108 plants employing 8,700 workers, in June, 125 plants employing 38,455 workers and in July, 206 plants employing 47,754 workers were closed. Iron and steel output dropped 40 per cent and textiles 20 per cent. Unemployment grew. The strike movement spread. The workers demanded an 8-hour day and higher wages. An agrarian revolution began to sweep the country. By July, 43 out of the 69 gubernias in the country were affected by peasant unrest; the peasants seized the landlords' land and set fire to their mansions. The movement of the workers and peasants was warmly welcomed in the army. The soldiers, war weary and enraged by the continuation of the war, threatened to leave the trenches and go home. The masses of the people became more and more convinced that the Provisional Government was deceiving them. The news of the launching of the offensive and of its subsequent failure roused a storm of indignation among the workers and soldiers in Petrograd.

At the end of June the situation in Petrograd became exceptionally strained. In this situation the bourgeois parties called upon the Provisional Government to take determined measures to crush the revolutionary workers and soldiers of Petrograd. The government decided to get rid of the revolutionary garrison of Petrograd and with this object sent larger contingents of the garrison to the front on the pretext that the units there needed reinforcements. In order to exert pressure on the compromising parties and to force them to agree at last

to the formation of a "strong government" the Cadets, on July 2, resigned from the government and thereby created a governmental crisis.

The failure of the offensive, the governmental crisis, and the provocative tactics of the bourgeois parties and organizations, filled the cup of bitterness of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd to overflowing, and on July 3 (16), individual regiments and the workers of different factories demonstrated in the streets. Soon these demonstrations grew into a general armed demonstration under the slogan of "All power to the Soviets!"

The Bolshevik Party was of the opinion that to seize power at that moment would be premature. Lenin and Stalin pointed out that the Bolsheviks could easily capture power in Petrograd but would be unable to hold it as they did not yet have a majority in the Soviets throughout the country. In spite of these warnings, however, on July 3, the First Machine-Gun Regiment came out in full fighting kit and marched to the Bolshevik headquarters. On the way other regiments, and also units of the workers' Red Guard, joined the Machine-Gun Regiment. At 11 o'clock at night the workers of the Putilov Plan came into the street. The demonstration assumed a mass character. When it became evident that this spontaneous demonstration could not be stopped the Bolsheviks decided to take the lead of it in order to keep it within peaceful and organized bounds, so as to give the bourgeoisie no opportunity for provoking the workers and soldiers to premature action with the object of crushing them.

In the morning of July 4, no less than 500,000 workers participated in the demonstration. Strikes closed the factories and mills. Ninety delegates, representing all the factories and regiments in the city, went to the Taurida Palace where the Central Executive Committee that was elected by the First Congress of Soviets was in session, and demanded that the All-Russian Central Executive Committee should proclaim the transfer of power to the Soviets.

Meanwhile, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries feverishly mustered troops for the purpose of suppressing the demonstration. Cossack units were called in from the front. In the evening of July 4, detachments of army cadets and Cossacks opened fire on the demonstrators. On July 5 demonstrators were still being fired on. After suppressing the demonstration of the workers and soldiers, the counter-revolutionaries attacked the Bolshevik Party. The editorial offices of *Pravda* were raided and wrecked and all the Bolshevik newspapers were suppressed. A detachment of cadets arrived at Lenin's lodgings with the object of arresting him and searched the premises. Foreseeing this, Comrade Stalin had opportunely arranged for Lenin's departure from Petrograd. After shaving off his beard and moustaches and disguising himself as a Finnish peasant,

generals, organized the shooting down of the workers' and soldiers' demonstration; and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, which was controlled by the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, even issued a special order authorizing the Socialist-Revolutionaries Gotz and Avksentyev to assist General Polovtsev to "restore order."

After the July events the political situation in the country changed. The Soviets lost the confidence of the masses and became impotent. The dual power was superseded by the sole power of the bourgeoisie. Appraising the situation in the country at the time, Lenin wrote: "A peaceful development of the Russian revolution has now become impossible. History puts the question thus: either complete victory for the counter-revolution, or a new revolution" (*V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XXI, Bk. 1, New York, 1932, p. 58*).

In view of these circumstances, it became necessary to withdraw the slogan of "All power to the Soviets!" for a time, because the Soviets, which were controlled by the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, were then acting as the accomplices of counter-revolution. The party was faced with the new task of winning a majority in the Soviets and of converting the latter into organs of insurrection.

The offensive that was launched by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie with the assistance of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries shook the confidence of the workers and peasants in those parties. Discontent grew among the masses of the soldiers at the front. Reports to headquarters read: "The masses are sullen. Hostility towards the officers continues. The bulk of the soldiers do not want to fight. There are frequent cases of refusal to obey orders."

In the rural districts the peasants rose against the landlords. The "Red Chanticleer" (incendiarism) was on the rampage among the landlords' estates. Whereas in March, 34 counties had been affected by the peasant movement, in July, 325 were affected. The workers in the mills and factories went on strike and in many cases they drove out the hated directors and managers and introduced workers' control of production.

The Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party. On July 26, the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party was opened in Petrograd. The congress was held in secret.

Lenin, who was ill, was unable to attend the congress, but Comrade Stalin kept him informed of its proceedings and received instructions from him. The congress proceedings were directed by Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin delivered a report on the political situation in which he emphasized that the revolution "had begun to assume the character of a socialist workers' revolution," and that the only way to achieve the victory of the socialist revolution was to prepare for and carry out an armed insurrection.

31. THE SUPPRESSION OF GENERAL KORNILOV'S COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY REVOLT

The Bourgeois Counter-Revolutionary Plot. After the July demonstration the bourgeoisie began to mobilize its forces for the purpose of crushing the revolution. The petty-bourgeois parties which controlled the Soviets obediently carried out the program of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

On July 8, 1917, the "Little Bonaparte," "the little braggart Kerensky," as Lenin called him, became the head of the government. Kerensky introduced the death penalty at the front, and informed the Allies that he had taken all measures to restore the fighting efficiency of the army. On the demand of the Allies, General Kornilov, who was notorious for his uncompromising hostility to the revolution, was appointed Supreme Commander-in-Chief. He issued an order prohibiting all meetings in the army. Field courts-martial introduced a reign of terror at the front. Kornilov demanded the introduction of the death penalty in the rear as well.

After Kornilov was appointed Supreme Commander-in-Chief the second coalition Provisional Government was formed. This government was headed by Kerensky and included members of the Cadet Party.

The counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie set out to establish a military dictatorship and with this object organized a military monarchist plot. The instigator of this plot was the Cadet Party. As Lenin wrote at the time: "The Cadet Party is the chief political force of the bourgeois counter-revolution in Russia" (*Lenin and Stalin, 1917, Selected Writings and Speeches*, Moscow, 1938, p. 359). The plot was hatched at the Headquarters of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief Kornilov, who was mustering troops for the purpose of marching them against Petrograd.

On August 12, 1917, Kerensky convened in Moscow a Council of State, which served as a sort of general review of the counter-revolutionary forces. Comrade Stalin characterized this council in the following words: "The 'way out' for the counter-revolution lies in convening a conference of merchants and manufacturers, of landlords and bankers, of members of the tsarist Duma and already tamed Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, in order, by declaring this conference to be a 'National Assembly,' to obtain from it approval for the policy of imperialism and counter-revolution, and for transferring the burdens of the war to the shoulders of the workers and peasants" (*Lenin and Stalin, 1917, Selected Writings and Speeches*, Moscow, 1938, pp. 314-15).

The leaders of the counter-revolution intended to proclaim a military dictatorship at this council, but events developed differently from the way they anticipated.

The leaders of the compromising parties were terrified by this turn of affairs and turned to the Bolsheviks for assistance, for they were aware that the only force in the country that was capable of organizing the defeat of Kornilov was the Bolshevik Party.

Mobilization of the Forces of the Revolution. The Bolsheviks took the lead in the struggle against Kornilov. While calling for the suppression of the mutinous general, the Bolshevik Party denounced the Provisional Government, which consisted of masked Kornilovites, and the entire policy of which had served to strengthen the counter-revolution.

The proletariat rose to a man to defend revolutionary Petrograd. In the course of three days 25,000 workers enrolled in the Red Guard. The military organization of the Bolshevik Party enlisted the services of 700 army instructors to train the Red Guards. In the munition factories the production of shells was speeded up and armoured cars were fitted out. Within two days the workers at the Putilov Plant, working 16 hours a day, turned out about 200 new pieces of artillery. The railwaymen diverted Kornilov's troop trains to sidings, blocked the stations with empty trains, tore up the rails on railway bridges and removed vital parts from locomotives. Thousands of working people dug fortifications at the approaches to Petrograd.

Meanwhile, hundreds of Bolshevik agitators worked among Kornilov's troops explaining to them the object of Kornilov's mutiny. Enormous influence upon Kornilov's so-called "Savage Division" which consisted of Caucasian highlanders, was exercised by a delegation of highlanders who, on S. M. Kirov's advice, were sent to the division to explain the true objects of the counter-revolution. The soldiers and Cossacks in Kornilov's force began to go over to the side of the workers.

The Kornilov adventure collapsed. General Krymov committed suicide. Kornilov, Denikin and other generals were arrested, but the manner in which these monarchist generals were "held in custody" was very strange. Kornilov and his accomplices were "imprisoned" in the premises of a school known as Bykhov's High School, and the Tekinsky Regiment which Kornilov himself had formed, and which was loyal to him, was appointed to guard them. Actually, Kerensky protected the mutinous generals from popular anger and judgment.

The civil war begun by the generals and the bourgeoisie radically changed the relation of forces in the country. As Comrade Stalin wrote at the time: "The Kornilov revolt merely opened the valve for the accumulated revolutionary anger, it merely unbound the hitherto fettered revolution, whipped it up and pushed it forward" (J. Stalin, *On the Road to October*, Moscow, 1925, Russ. ed., p. 206).

The suppression of the Kornilov plot revealed that the position of the bourgeoisie and of their stooges, the Mensheviks and the Social-

Lastly, the suppression of the Kornilov revolt showed that after abandoning the policy of compromise the Soviets were beginning to revive and were becoming a great revolutionary force. A period of the Bolshevization of the Soviets began. On August 31, the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, by a majority vote, passed a resolution proposed by the Bolsheviks; on September 5, the Moscow Soviet did the same. The Bolsheviks gained control of the Soviets in the two capitals and also in the decisive industrial centres.

In view of the Bolshevization of the Soviets the Party, in September, brought forward again the slogan which had been withdrawn after the events of July 3-5, namely, "All power to the Soviets."

As Comrade Stalin has written: "The slogan 'All power to the Soviets!' was again put forward. But now this slogan had a different meaning from that in the first stage. Its content had radically changed. Now this slogan signified a complete rupture with imperialism and the passing of power to the Bolsheviks, for the majority of the Soviets were already Bolshevik. Now this slogan signified that the revolution must march directly towards the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of insurrection. More than that, this slogan now signified the organization and shaping of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a state" (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1945, p. 115).

The slogan "All power to the Soviets!" was a call for insurrection against the Provisional Government for the purpose of transferring all power to the Soviets controlled by the Bolsheviks.

Terrified by the revolution, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries countered the slogan of "All power to the Soviets!" by convening a Democratic Conference with the object of diverting the revolutionary movement into a less dangerous channel. The Democratic Conference which was made up of representatives of the compromising parties, Soviets, trade unions, Zemstvos, army organizations and co-operative societies, met on September 12, and rejected the coalition with the Cadets. The Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks thereupon proposed that the Democratic Conference should set up a Provisional Council of the Republic, known as the Pre-parliament, for the purpose, as they said, of controlling the actions of the government. Actually, however, their aim was to create another screen for their coalition with the bourgeoisie. While the Democratic Conference was in session, Kerensky obtained the consent of the Cadets Kishkin, Buryshkin, Konovalov and others to enter the government. The Pre-parliament remained a futile exercise in parliamentarism. The workers derisively called it the "Pre-bathhouse." *

* A play on the words "predparlament" and "predbannik"—the latter meaning the dressing room at a public bath.—Tr.

political system of Russia has in a few months caught up with that of the advanced countries. But that is not enough. The war is inexorable; it puts the alternative with ruthless severity: either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced countries *economically as well*" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. II, Moscow, 1947, p. 117).

In August-September 1917, Lenin finished his book *The State and Revolution* in which he developed the fundamental propositions of Marx and Engels on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and expounded the doctrine of the Soviets as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the end of September 1917, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries made another attempt to check the revolution by forming a new coalition government. It included "six capitalist ministers as the nucleus of the 'Cabinet' and ten 'Socialist' ministers to be at their service as the vehicles of their will" (J. Stalin, *On the Road to October*, Moscow, 1925, Russ. ed., p. 223). Kerensky remained Prime Minister.

The counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie began secretly to plot another blow against the revolution.

Large counter-revolutionary forces were concentrated around the capital and shock battalions were formed of specially picked men who were allowed to join only on the recommendation of officers. These battalions consisted of the sons of kulaks and the bourgeoisie. More than ten such battalions were posted on the Northern and Western Fronts, in proximity to Petrograd and Moscow. Cossack and cavalry regiments which were regarded as exceptionally "reliable" were withdrawn from the front to the rear. Polish soldiers serving in the Russian army in Byelorussia were formed in a separate Polish Corps under the command of General Dowbor-Musnicki for the purpose of cutting the Western Front off from Petrograd and of capturing all the railway junctions on the line to Petrograd. A similar corps was formed in the Ukraine of Czech and Slovak prisoners of war for the purpose of cutting off the Southwestern and Rumanian Fronts from the revolutionary capital if this was found necessary.

The Bolshevization of the Masses. In September and October 1917, the political influence of the Party of Lenin and Stalin grew day after day and its membership steadily increased. Thus, in April 1917, the membership of the Bolshevik Party was 80,000, in the middle of August it had risen to 250,000, and in the beginning of October to 400,000. Under the leadership of the Bolsheviks a strike movement commenced among the proletariat. One hundred thousand leather workers in Moscow went on strike and remained out for two and a half months. Over 300,000 workers were involved in the textile strikes in Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Kineshma. Strikes of printers spread over nearly the whole country. The Baku workers waged

Revolutionary party which had become, to use Lenin's words "a party hostile to the people, hostile to the peasants, and counter-revolutionary." ↑

In alliance with the poorest stratum of the peasantry, and with the bulk of the peasantry supporting the Bolshevik slogans, the proletariat marched towards the proletarian revolution.

The maturing of the proletarian revolution caused wavering and confusion in the ranks of the petty-bourgeois parties. After the July events a "Left" wing calling itself "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries, sprang up in the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. A group of "Lefts" who called themselves Internationalists also sprang up among the Mensheviks. In the endeavour to retain the masses who were rapidly deserting them, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks came forward with the proposal to establish a republic in Russia. Hitherto, the question of the form of government, like all other questions arising out of the revolution, had been put off until the convocation of a Constituent Assembly.

The confusion that reigned in the ranks of the Menshevik and the Socialist-Revolutionary parties indicated that these compromising parties — the main prop of the bourgeoisie—were becoming isolated from the masses, and this brought nearer the victory of the socialist revolution.

The oppressed nationalities in Russia also rose up to fight the imperialist bourgeoisie; under the leadership of the Bolsheviks the movement for national liberation developed into a struggle for power. This was exceptionally evident in Central Asia. In September, a spontaneous mass revolt of the workers broke out in Tashkent, and for two weeks power was in the hands of the Soviet. The Provisional Government sent a punitive expedition to Tashkent under the command of General Kornilov, who dealt ruthlessly with the working population of the city.

In the Ukraine the Bolsheviks won over the masses and made vigorous preparations for an armed insurrection. In Kharkov, Kiev and Ekaterinoslav, Red Guard units were formed.

In Latvia, the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were Bolshevik. In Estonia the Bolsheviks had a majority at the Congress of Soviets that was convened in October. In Finland a Regional Congress of Soviets which was held in the beginning of September adopted resolutions submitted by Bolsheviks.

Not only Russia, but all the countries of Western Europe that were suffering from the protracted war were passing through a revolutionary crisis.

In France workers went on strike in protest against the imperialist war. The anti-war movement spread to the army and in some regiments Councils of Soldiers' Deputies were formed. Soldiers even talked about marching on Paris to settle accounts with the capitalists and the government.



V. I. LENIN

power to the Soviets. On October 16 (29), on Lenin's recommendation, a second meeting of the Central Committee of the Party was held to which representatives of the Petrograd Bolsheviks were invited in order that a larger circle of Party members could be informed of the plan for the insurrection. This meeting reaffirmed the decision to launch the armed insurrection. Kamenev and Zinoviev again demanded that the insurrection be postponed. Comrade Stalin spoke and denounced these traitors. He said: "Objectively, what Kamenev and Zinoviev propose amounts to giving the counter-revolution the opportunity to organize."

That same day a Party Centre was set up, headed by Comrade Stalin, for the purpose of exercising practical leadership of the insurrection.

After sustaining defeat at the meeting of the Central Committee, Zinoviev and Kamenev resorted to an act of unprecedented treachery. They sent a statement to the Menshevik newspaper *Noraya Zhizn*, which published it in its issue of October 18, declaring that they disagreed with the decision of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party to launch an insurrection. This was a downright betrayal. Concerning this action Lenin wrote: "Kamenev and Zinoviev have betrayed to Rodzyanko and Kerensky the decision of the Central Committee of their Party on armed insurrection and the fact that preparations for armed insurrection and the choice of the date for the armed insurrection were being concealed from the enemy" (*Lenin and Stalin, 1917, Selected Writings and Speeches*, Moscow, 1938, p. 605). Following in the footsteps of Kamenev and Zinoviev, Trotsky too divulged the date of the insurrection by stating at a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet that the Second Congress of Soviets that was to be held on October 25 must take over power. Kerensky took advantage of this betrayal to take a series of military measures for the purpose of forestalling the insurrection.

The Bolsheviks intensified their activities in preparing for the armed insurrection. In conformity with the plan drawn up by Comrade Stalin, the workers of the Urals were to come to the aid of Petrograd, those of Ivanovo-Voznesensk were to go to the aid of Moscow, and in Byelorussia the soldiers at the front, in the event of being sent against Petrograd, were to be disarmed. In preparing for the insurrection Comrade Stalin was assisted by Y. M. Sverdlov, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, V. M. Molotov, G. K. Orjonikidze, M. I. Kalinin, A. A. Andreyev and other comrades.

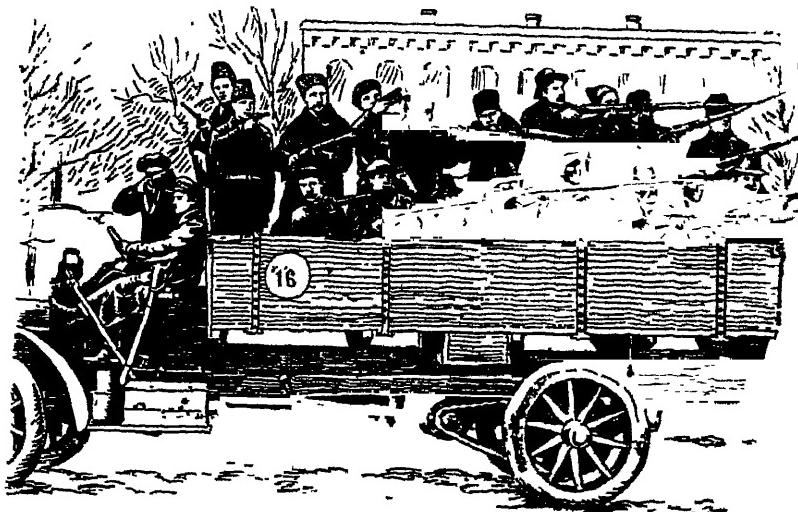
In the provinces preparations for the armed insurrection were made under the direction of those tried and trusted pupils of Lenin, K. E. Voroshilov in the Donetz Basin, Artyom (Sergeyev) in Kharkov, V. V. Kuibyshev in the Volga Region, A. A. Zhdanov in the Urals, L. M. Kaganovich in the Polesie Region, M. V. Frunze in Ivanovo-

mittee of the Bolshevik Party his last letter demanding that the insurrection should be started forthwith. "We must at all costs, this very evening, this very night, arrest the government, first disarming the cadets (defeating them if they resist), and so forth," he wrote. "Under no circumstances must power be left in the hands of Kerensky and Co. until the 25th—not under any circumstances; the matter must be decided without fail this very evening, or this very night" (*V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. II, Moscow, 1947, p. 159*).

To prevent Kerensky from taking action on the 25th, the day the Congress of Soviets was to open, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party instructed the Revolutionary Military Committee to start the insurrection at once.

In the morning of October 24 (November 6), the Revolutionary Military Committee ordered the military units to prepare for action; it also ordered that a close watch be kept on the army units that were approaching the capital, and that the guard at bridges and railway stations be reinforced. It decided to call in the assistance of the warships and sailors of the Baltic Fleet and with this object sent the Central Committee of the Soviets of the Baltic Fleet in Helsingfors a prearranged telegram containing the words: "Send regulations"; this meant "the insurrection has commenced, dispatch ships and men."

That evening Lenin, disguised as a workingman, with his face tied up and wearing a wig, and accompanied by a comrade sent from the Central Committee, arrived in the Smolny. Men from the



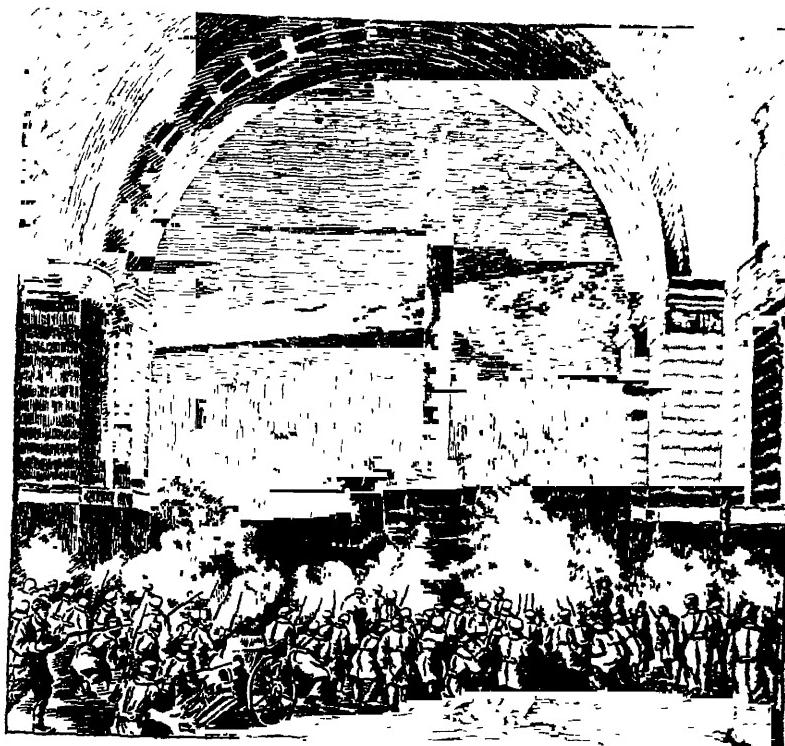
Red Guards. The Insurrection in Petrograd in October 1917

Palace, where the Provisional Government was assembled. By this time it was evident that the government was completely isolated; not a single military unit supported it. On the morning of the 25th Kerensky fled from the insurgent capital in a motor car flying the United States flag.

At 10 a.m. on October 25 (November 7), the Revolutionary Military Committee issued a manifesto proclaiming the overthrow of the Provisional Government. The manifesto, which had been drawn up by Lenin, stated:

"The Provisional Government has been overthrown. The power of state has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the Revolutionary Military Committee, which stands at the head of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison.

"The cause for which the people have fought—the immediate propos-



Red Guards Shell the Winter Palace in the Evening of October 25
(November 7) 1917. Shot from a film

Lenin Addressing the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets. From a painting by N. S. Chernenko



At 2:30 a.m. the congress passed a decree announcing the formation of the first Soviet government—the Council of People's Commissars. The congress endorsed Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and Lenin's unfailing colleague, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, as People's Commissar of Nationalities, the function of which was to help to unite the oppressed nations in a single fraternal socialist federation of nations. The activities of the Council of People's Commissars were to be controlled by a Central Executive Committee elected by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

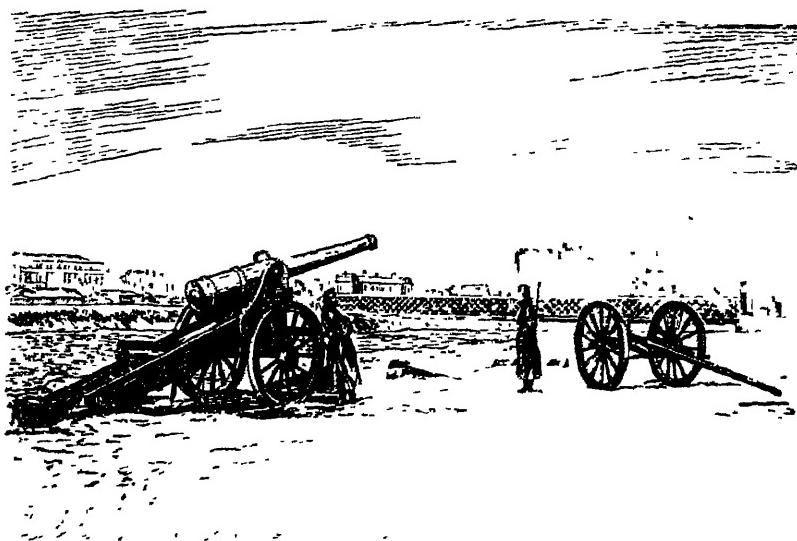
The first Soviet government consisted exclusively of Bolsheviks, although the latter had invited the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries to join it. Before the Second Congress of Soviets was opened the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries were still organizationally connected with the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries. It was only after the latter had left the congress together with the Mensheviks that the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries formed their own separate party. Conscious of the pressure of the entire mass of the peasantry who were thirsting for land, the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries had been constantly wavering between the Bolsheviks and the Right Socialist-Revolutionary-Menshevik bloc and urging the Bolsheviks to reach an agreement with the latter. Lenin called them "fellow travellers of the proletarian revolution" and foresaw that they would betray the revolution at the critical moment. Influenced by the revolutionary temper of the peasants and soldiers, the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries announced that they supported the October Revolution. It was then that the Bolsheviks invited them to enter the government.

But the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries opposed the formation of a Soviet government; they wanted "a homogeneous socialist government," by which they meant a Cabinet consisting of representatives of different parties, ranging from the People's Socialists to the Bolsheviks. The Second Congress of Soviets, however, rejected this proposal and set up the first Soviet government entirely of Bolsheviks.

The congress closed at 5 a.m. on October 27, amidst the enthusiastic cries of the delegates and Petrograd workers: "Long live the revolution!", "Long live Socialism!"

Suppression of the Kerensky and Krasnov Anti-Soviet Revolt. The victory of the socialist revolution in Petrograd evoked the desperate resistance of the deposed classes. The Committee for the Salvation of the Fatherland and the Revolution, which was headed by Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and backed by the Entente imperialists, became the centre of the counter-revolution. The workers and soldiers called this committee "The Committee for the Salvation of the Counter-Revolution."

The first armed revolt of the counter-revolution was organized by



The Gun which Shelled the Cadets in Occupation of the Kremlin

to the united and vigorous efforts of the workers and soldiers the mutiny was crushed by 4 p. m. next day. On October 31 (November 13), the revolutionary workers and soldiers routed a force of Cossacks near Pulkovo. This defeat caused rapid disintegration among the Cossack units, and in spite of all the orders issued by Krasnov, the Cossacks refused to take to arms. A delegation of Soviet sailors went to the Cossacks in Gatchina and promised that they would be allowed to return to their homes if they stopped fighting the Soviets and delivered up Kerensky. The Cossacks agreed to this, but Kerensky managed to escape from Gatchina disguised as a Red Cross nurse. Krasnov was arrested but released later on giving his word of honour not to fight against the Soviets.

He failed to keep his word, however. He fled to the Don, which subsequently became a hotbed of counter-revolution.

The Insurrection in Moscow. On receiving news of the insurrection in Petrograd the Moscow Committee of the Bolshevik Party, on October 25 (November 7), took measures for an insurrection in Moscow.

On the night of October 25, the Bolshevik Military Centre called upon the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Moscow Soviet to garrison the Kremlin with troops who were loyal to the revolution; but instead of doing this the Revolutionary Military Committee leaders entered into negotiations with the counter-revolutionary headquarters. In the evening of October 26, the Moscow Committee of

revolutionaries were defeated and forced to surrender. All power passed to the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Moscow Soviet.

The October Revolution at the Front. The Second Congress of Soviets issued an appeal to the soldiers at the front to support the insurrection of the Petrograd workers, and stated that the Soviet government would exert all efforts to terminate the war. The decrees on peace and on the land were immediately circulated to all the soldiers' organizations, but the Army Committees, led by Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, tried to conceal from the soldiers the decisions which had been adopted by the Second Congress of Soviets. The soldiers, however, sent deputations to the Petrograd Soviet to learn the truth about the events that had taken place in the capital. When these delegates returned and informed their comrades that Soviet rule had been established in Petrograd, the masses of soldiers heartily welcomed it. The proletarian revolution triumphed first on the Northern and Western Fronts, which were closest to Petrograd. Here the Bolsheviks had conducted extensive activity; nearly all the Regimental Committees were headed by Bolsheviks and, as a consequence, the soldiers declared unanimously for Soviet power. The other fronts—the Southwestern, Rumanian and Caucasian—being very remote from the centre of the revolution, did not at once learn of the victory of the proletarian revolution in Petrograd; but as the truth about the events came through and the soldiers learned of the Soviet decrees they too joined the revolution.

Although defeated in Petrograd and in Moscow, the counter-revolution still made efforts to organize and pass to the offensive. The representatives of the anti-Soviet parties which had been defeated by the revolution, and the military missions of the Entente countries which refused to recognize the Soviet government, flocked to the General Headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief in Mogilev, which now became the centre of a new counter-revolutionary plot. General Head-



A Sailor. Poster

Chernov, both Socialist-Revolutionaries and creatures of the counter-revolution, be appointed in his place.

After the Kerensky and Krasnov revolt was crushed, Lenin demanded that negotiations with the Railwaymen's Executive should cease forthwith. In answer to this Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov and the few supporters they had, resigned from the Central Committee of the Party. Lenin demanded that these deserters and blacklegs of the revolution should be removed from all Soviet and Party work. In an angry letter he addressed to Zinoviev and Kamenev he wrote: "... You are causing indecision in the ranks of the fighters in an insurrection which is still in progress. . . ." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 57.)

The Central Committee of the Party addressed a letter "To All Party Members and to All the Toiling Classes of Russia" in which it emphasized that only a Bolshevik government could now be regarded as the Soviet government.

At that time Yakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov was elected as Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

A steadfast Leninist and a man of extraordinary strong will and outstanding organizing talent, Yakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov played a tremendous part in building up the Party and Soviet power after the victory of the October Revolution. His iron will, seething energy, enormous capacity for work, phenomenal memory, astonishing knowledge of men and his ability to find and place the necessary workers made him a priceless leader and organizer of Soviet power.

The Breakup of the Old State Machine. The fundamental antithesis between bourgeois revolutions (including the French bourgeois revolution of 1789) and the Great October Socialist Revolution lay in that "the French (and every other) bourgeois revolution, while liberating the people from the chains of feudalism and absolutism, put new chains upon them, the chains of capitalism and bourgeois democracy, whereas the socialist revolution in Russia smashed all chains whatsoever and liberated the people from all forms of exploitation. . . ." (J. Stalin, S. Kirov and A. Zhdanov, *Comments on a Synopsis for a Textbook on Modern History*.)

After overthrowing the rule of the capitalists and landlords and becoming itself the ruling class, the proletariat had to organize in a new way the state power it needed to be able to crush the resistance of the exploiters and lead the peasants in building the new socialist society.

This process of creating the new proletarian authority was a complicated and difficult one, for it entailed the breaking up of the old bourgeois machinery of state and the creation of a new type of state authority. As Lenin wrote: "... All the revolutions which have occurred up to

the proletarian revolution a Workers' Militia was organized to maintain revolutionary order, and was placed under the control of the local Soviets.

A series of decrees was issued abolishing the old division of the population into estates. Thus, on November 10 (23), 1917, a decree was passed abolishing the different estates and civil ranks. The designations current till then (noble, merchant, burgher, peasant, etc.,) were abolished and the designation of Citizen of the Russian Republic was introduced to cover all the inhabitants of Soviet Russia.

Decrees were also issued abolishing the privileges of the church. Thus, the decree of January 21 (February 3), 1918, separated the church from the state and the school from the church. The state ceased to maintain the clergy and missionaries, relieved schoolchildren from the obligation of learning the scriptures, and proclaimed religion and the church to be the private affair of citizens.

The Soviet state emancipated women and purged family relationships of feudal survivals. The decrees issued on December 19 and 20, 1917, old style, introduced civil marriages, placed children under the protection of the proletarian state and granted women equal rights with men in all respects.

On December 21 (January 3), spelling reform was introduced, thus making it easier for the vast population which had been kept in ignorance for generations to learn to read and write. On January 25 (February 7), 1918, a decree was issued abolishing the old style calendar and introducing the calendar in use in all European countries.

First Steps Towards Socialism. The October victory ushered in the first stage of socialist construction. The Great October Socialist Revolution, as Lenin said, completed, in passing, the task of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and at the same time took the first steps towards Socialism.

The first decrees of the Soviet State introducing socialist measures were also aimed at doing away completely with the survivals of feudalism, serfdom and the caste system. In this respect the Soviet State did more in a few weeks than the Cadets, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries had done during the eight months they were in power.

On October 30 (November 12), 1917, a decree was issued introducing the 8-hour working day.

To combat the sabotage of the capitalists, workers' control of industry was introduced, the Regulations on Workers' Control being passed by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on November 14 (27), 1917. Workers' control meant that the workers prevented the deliberate closing of factories, the removal of finished goods and stocks of raw materials and fuel from the premises, and the stopping of pro-

Building the Soviet Machinery of State. The establishment of Soviet power met with the strong opposition of the bourgeois intelligentsia who had formerly been in the service of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes. In order to undermine the young proletarian state, government officials and the higher categories of administrative employees engaged in sabotage. Politically this sabotage was directed by the Cadets, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries who on the very day that power passed into the hands of the Soviets, called upon government officials to refuse to obey the new authorities. The officials of all fourteen Ministries declared a general strike, being financed by the bourgeoisie to the extent of over 2,000,000 rubles. The banks refused to finance those enterprises which had been placed under workers' control, and bank clerks carried away the keys of the vaults. The Food Administration announced that it would no longer be responsible for supplying the capital with food. The bread ration was reduced to 150 grams per day. The Ministry of State Relief stopped paying pensions to orphans, disabled persons and the aged. The Technical Engineers' Union expelled those of its members who obeyed the Soviet decree on workers' control and co-operated with the Bolsheviks. The Post and Telegraph Employees' Union ordered all local post and telegraph offices to hold up all orders issued by the Soviet government.

Notwithstanding this sabotage, the Soviet government and the Bolshevik Party built up a network of Soviet institutions. Communication was established between the central organs of the Soviet State and the local Soviets, but during the first period work was carried on under very difficult conditions.

Here is how N. K. Krupskaya has described the conditions of this period: "Work in the Smolny went on not only during the day, but all through the night. In the beginning all the work was done in the Smolny—Party meetings, sessions of the Council of People's Commissars and the work of the People's Commissariats. Telegrams and orders were sent out from there. People streamed to the Smolny from everywhere. And what kind of staff did the Council of People's Commissars have? In the beginning, four utterly inexperienced people, working without respite, doing everything that was required. . . . Lenin often had to do the most routine work, making phone calls, etc."

On November 15 (28) the Council of People's Commissars ordered that the work of all the People's Commissariats be conducted in the premises of the corresponding Ministries and that the Commissars should gather in the Smolny only in the evenings. The reason for this decision was that in the process of combating sabotage a new Soviet machinery of state was beginning to be built up.

the Petrograd Soviet and the Congress of Soviets of Peasants' Deputies, a resolution was unanimously adopted to unite the Soviets of Workers' Deputies with the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies.

"The Declaration of Rights of the Nations of Russia." The main principles of the Soviet national policy were proclaimed in the Declaration of Rights of the Nations of Russia that was signed by Lenin and Stalin and published on November 2 (15), 1917. The plain, clear and powerful words in which the Declaration was couched found an echo not only among the nations inhabiting Russia but also among the colonial and dependent peoples abroad. The Declaration proclaimed the emancipation by

the Great October Socialist Revolution of all the nations inhabiting Russia and laid down the following principles of the national policy of the Soviet State: 1) Equality and sovereignty of the nations of Russia; 2) the right of the nations of Russia to free self-determination, including the right to secede and form independent states; 3) abolition of all and sundry national and national-religious privileges and restrictions; 4) the free development of the national minorities and ethnographical groups inhabiting the territory of Russia. This policy of the Soviet State satisfied the age-long strivings of the oppressed nationalities and thereby strengthened their alliance with the Russian proletariat who had established themselves in power.

The Establishment of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission. On December 7 (20), 1917, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution and Sabotage was set up to protect the proletarian dictatorship and safeguard all the gains of the revolution. This Commission soon became, as Comrade Stalin called it, "the ever-wakeful guardian of the revolution, the drawn sword of the proletariat."

At the head of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission the Party placed that most faithful comrade-in-arms of Lenin and Stalin, firm Bolshevik and staunch fighter in the revolution, Felix Edmundo-



F. E. Dzerzhinsky

The decisions of the Second Congress of Soviets, the decrees of the Soviet government, the manifestoes and appeals issued by the Bolshevik Party and Lenin's speeches and newspaper articles were therefore welcomed by the masses with tremendous enthusiasm.

Speaking at a meeting of the Moscow Soviet on March 12, 1918, Lenin said:

"Soviet power has not only been established in the big towns and factory districts, it has penetrated to all the remote corners of the country" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 381).

In the villages around industrial districts, Soviet power was organized by factory workers; in the non-industrial districts it was organized by the poorer peasants, and Bolshevik-minded soldiers returned from the front. The latter brought Bolshevik newspapers with them, held village meetings at which they explained the tasks facing the Soviets in power, and under their direction new elections to the Soviets were held.

At the end of December 1917, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs issued an order abolishing all the former local government bodies and replacing them by Soviets.

The Defeat of Kaledin and Durov. At the very beginning of the October Revolution a geographical demarcation of a kind between the revolution and the counter-revolution was to be observed. As Comrade Stalin wrote: "Inner Russia with her industrial, cultural and political centres—Moscow and Petrograd, with a nationally homogeneous, mainly Russian, population, has become the base of the revolution. The outlying regions of Russia, on the other hand, mainly the Southern and Eastern regions, with no important industrial and cultural and political centres, with a population extremely diverse nationally and consisting of privileged Cossack colonizers on the one hand, and disfranchised Tatars, Bashkirs, Kirghiz (in the East), Ukrainians, Chechens, Ingushes and other Moslem peoples on the other—has become the base of the counter-revolution" (Lenin and Stalin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Russ. ed., p. 276).

This demarcation was distinctly visible in the counter-revolutionary operations of General Durov in Orenburg and of Kaledin on the Don.

The Cossacks had long played the part of colonizers in the Orenburg territory. The conditions of the Russian settlers, "strangers" as they were called, and particularly of the native inhabitants—Kirghiz, Bashkirs, Tatars and Kazakhs—were extremely hard. The Provisional Government permitted the Cossacks in Orenburg to set up a Cossack Regional Representative Assembly, which still further helped to transform the Cossacks into an exclusive, privileged military caste.

front, representing forty-six regiments, was held at Kamen-skaya at which a Don Revolutionary Military Committee was set up, headed by the Cossack Podtyolkov. This Revolutionary Military Committee recognized the Soviet government and called upon working Cossacks to fight Kaledin. Backed by the revolutionary Cossacks, the Red Guards launched an offensive against Novocherkassk and Rostov. The officer and cadet units sent against them by Kaledin were defeated.

Realizing that his position was hopeless, Kaledin committed suicide. At the end of February 1918, the Red forces occupied Rostov and Novocherkassk. Soviet power was established in the Don Region.

The remnants of the White forces commanded by General Kornilov fled to the Kuban, where they hoped to obtain the assistance of the counter-revolutionary Cossack Kuban Rada; but by this time Soviet power was being established in the Kuban Region.

On March 14, 1918, Kuban Red Guard forces dislodged the forces of the Kuban Rada from Ekaterinodar. The remnants of the Kuban counter-revolutionary forces fled beyond the river Kuban, and power in Ekaterinodar passed over to the Revolutionary Military Committee.

When Kornilov learned of the flight of the Rada from Ekaterinodar he went to the assistance of the Kuban counter-revolutionaries. On the way his bandit troops robbed and murdered the peasant "strangers" and the Cossack poor; his line of march was strewn with corpses. Kornilov united all the counter-revolutionary detachments under his own command and on April 11 launched an offensive against Ekaterinodar. The town was defended by Red Guards and the entire working population. The assault, which lasted three days, was repulsed. The Whiteguards were defeated. Kornilov was killed. The remnants of the Whiteguards, under the command of Denikin, fled. Soviet power became firmly established in the Kuban Region.

The Fight to Establish Soviet Power in North Caucasus. After the victory of the October Revolution in Petrograd, the upper strata of the Don and Terek Cossacks concluded an alliance with the Chechens, the rich highlanders of Daghestan, to prevent the establishment of Soviet power in the Cossack and mountain regions of North Caucasus. This alliance between the Cossack upper strata and the feudal highland rulers, however, found no support among the masses. There was a long-standing enmity between the North Caucasian highlanders and the Cossack colonizers over the land. The "strangers," i. e., the landless Russian peasants who had settled in North Caucasus and did not belong to the Cossack caste, also waged a struggle against the upper strata of the Cossacks.

The situation was exceptionally tense in the Terek Region with its extremely diverse population. Of a total of 1,200,000 inhabitants

had to conduct a struggle against the counter-revolutionary organizations of the "regionalists," who demanded the formation of an independent Siberian region, and also of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and kulaks. In December 1917, the "regionalists" gathered at an extraordinary All-Siberian Congress at which it was decided to convene a Siberian Constituent Assembly in March 1918, and before that to convene a Siberian Regional Duma.

In the early part of February the Duma delegates began to gather in Tomsk, but here part of them were arrested by the local Soviet by order of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets of Siberia (Tsentrosibir). The delegates who remained at large formed an underground counter-revolutionary Provisional Siberian Government.

In January and February Soviet power was also established in the remoter regions of Siberia—in the majority of districts in the Transbaikal Region, and in the northern districts of the Tobolsk Gubernia.

At the end of February 1918, the Second All-Siberian Congress of Soviets was held at which a new Central Executive Committee of Soviets (Tsentrosibir) was elected, headed by Bolsheviks. Soviet power prevailed over the whole of Siberia.

Dispersion of the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly became the watchword of the bourgeois counter-revolution, which rose up to fight the Great October Socialist Revolution. In opposition to the slogan of "All power to the Soviets" the bourgeoisie and its agents, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, issued the slogan of "All power to the Constituent Assembly!" On November 29 (December 12), 1917, the Soviet government issued a decree ordering the arrest of the members of the Central Committee of the Cadet (Constitutional-Democratic) Party as enemies of the people.

The Soviet authorities did not hinder the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, since the peasants had to be given an opportunity of outliving illusions they had about it. The elections to the Constituent Assembly resulted in a majority for the Socialist-Revolutionaries: of the 715 seats they secured 412, while the Bolsheviks won only 183, all the other parties receiving an insignificant number of seats. Actually, however, not only did the Right-wing Socialist-Revolutionary majority in the Constituent Assembly not reflect the real relation of forces in the country. It did not even represent the actual relation of forces within the Socialist-Revolutionary Party itself. The elections to the Constituent Assembly took place in November, after Soviet power had been established, whereas the lists of candidates for election to the Assembly had been drawn up before the victory of the

or economic support whatever. . . ." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 390.)

The broad results of the triumphal march of Soviet power in the country were summed up by the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets that was held in January 1918. The congress adopted the Declaration of Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People, drawn up by Lenin in conjunction with Stalin, which stated: "Russia is hereby proclaimed a Republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All power, centrally and locally, belongs to these Soviets."

The Third Congress confirmed all the decrees issued by the Soviet authorities laying the foundation of the new Soviet Socialist State and confirmed the point that the main task of the Soviet State was to abolish all exploitation of man by man, to build socialist society in Russia and to fight for the victory of Socialism in all countries.

After a report delivered by Comrade Stalin, the congress proclaimed that "the Soviet Russian Republic is established on the basis of the free union of free nations as a federation of Soviet national republics." The formation of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) ensured the free and voluntary, and therefore close and durable, alliance of the working people of all the formerly oppressed nations in Russia.

The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets is of enormous importance in the history of the Soviet State, for it consolidated its socialist foundations.

36. SOVIET POWER BRINGS LIBERATION TO THE OPPRESSED NATIONS

Recognition of the Independence of Finland. The bourgeois "National Councils" and regional bourgeois "governments" that were set up before the Great October Socialist Revolution wanted to preserve the bourgeois order and therefore declared war on the Soviet government.

The workers and peasants in the non-Russian regions, having under the leadership and with the assistance of the Russian workers set up Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, launched a struggle to establish Soviet power in the non-Russian regions as well.

Among the first to start this struggle for power was the working class of Finland. But the treacherous Right-wing of the Finnish Social-Democratic Party surrendered power to the bourgeoisie. The Finnish Sejm sanctioned the formation of the reactionary government headed by Svinhuvud. An extraordinary congress of the Social-Democratic Party was called to settle the issue of power.

On November 14 (27), 1917, J. V. Stalin, then People's Commis-

to the German authorities to send troops into the part of Latvia where Soviet power had been established. The request was fulfilled by the German imperialists.

In Estonia the proletarian revolution took place immediately after the victory of the armed insurrection in Petrograd. All power passed into the hands of the All-Estonian Soviet of Workers', Peasants', Soldiers' and Sailors' Deputies. With the establishment of Soviet power in Estonia the land and factories were nationalized. This victory of the Soviets in Estonia greatly facilitated the success of the October fighting in Petrograd, for the Soviet authorities in Estonia prevented the dispatch of troops from the front to assist Kerensky. In the middle of November 1917, the Estonian National Sejm, which had become a centre of the counter-revolution, was dissolved, whereupon, the Estonian bourgeoisie and the Baltic barons prepared for a *coup d'Etat*. They appealed to the German military authorities, who as early as September 1917 had occupied a number of Estonian islands, to occupy Estonia itself. Thus commenced the German occupation of the whole of Estonia.

The Struggle to Establish Soviet Power in the Ukraine. As Comrade Stalin has stated, in the border regions the Great October Socialist Revolution encountered a barrier in the shape of the "National Councils" and regional "governments" that had been set up before the October Revolution. "The revolution, which started in the centre," he wrote, "could not long be confined to this narrow territory. Once having triumphed in the centre, it was bound to spread to the border regions. And, indeed, from the very first days of the seizure of power, the revolutionary wave spread from the North all over Russia, sweeping over one border region after another. But here it struck a dam in the form of the 'National Councils' and regional 'governments' (Don, Kuban, Siberia) which had come into being before the October Revolution. The fact is that these 'national governments' would not hear of a socialist revolution. Bourgeois by nature, they had not the slightest intention of destroying the old bourgeois world; on the contrary, they considered it their duty to preserve and consolidate it by every means in their power. Essentially imperialist, they had not the slightest intention of breaking with imperialism; on the contrary, they were never averse to seizing and subjugating bits and morsels of 'foreign' nationalities whenever opportunity offered. No wonder that the 'national governments' in the border regions declared war on the socialist government in the centre. And, once they had declared war, they naturally became centres of reaction attracting all that was counter-revolutionary in Russia" (J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Moscow, 1940, p. 63).

After the October Revolution the Ukrainian Central Rada became a bulwark of the bourgeois counter-revolution. On learning

October insurrection in Petrograd was received in Minsk, the Minsk Soviet seized power, liberated from prison all the soldiers whom the Kerensky government had arrested for "political offences" and formed them into a revolutionary regiment.

The counter-revolution made an attempt to use Cossacks in order to crush the Minsk Soviet, but an armoured train and a regiment of soldiers arrived from the front and the Cossacks were beaten off. The Bolsheviks in Polesie, led by L. M. Kaganovich, established control over the movements of troop trains and held up and disarmed the Cossack contingents.

The Eleventh Congress of the Western Front, which was held in Minsk in the latter half of November 1917, proclaimed the establishment of Soviet power in Byelorussia.

The Struggle to Establish Soviet Power in Transcaucasia. The population of Transcaucasia, numbering seven million, was made up of dozens of different nationalities. In the endeavour to keep the masses from taking part in the proletarian socialist revolution, the enemies of the revolution fomented strife among these nationalities. The Transcaucasian bourgeois nationalists—the Armenian Dashnaks, Azerbaijani Mussavatists and the Georgian Mensheviks—who had got on very well with the Provisional Government, decided to secede from Russia as soon as Soviet power was established.

With this object in view they set up, on November 11 (24), 1917, a Transcaucasian Commissariat, which was a bloc of all the bourgeois parties to fight the Soviet State. Claiming to assert the independence of the Transcaucasian peoples, this Commissariat broke with Soviet Russia and concluded an alliance with the counter-revolutionaries in the Don and Kuban Regions. The Transcaucasian Commissariat formally united Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, but actually each of these countries was ruled by its own National Council. Acute inter-national strife broke out among them. Th-



S. G. Sharumyan

Persia. The head of this expedition enlisted the services of Russian army officers who had fled to Persia from Soviet Russia and began to make preparations to seize Baku.

The Baku Soviet of Workers' Deputies, in which the Bolsheviks were in the majority, was the only Soviet in Transcaucasia that welcomed the insurrection in Petrograd and refused to recognize the authority of the Transcaucasian Sejm. In a resolution passed in the beginning of March 1918, the Baku Soviet declared: "The City of Baku must be transformed into a base for the struggle to establish Soviet rule in Transcaucasia." This struggle was started first of all against the bourgeois nationalist parties, the Mussavatists and Dashnacks, who were conducting provocative activities among the Azerbaijanians and among the Armenians in Baku. On March 18, the Mussavatists rose in revolt against Soviet rule, but the Baku workers, led by the veteran Bolshevik Stepan Shaumyan, crushed this counter-revolutionary uprising. Soviet rule was consolidated in Baku and the heroic Baku Commune was formed.

The Struggle to Establish Soviet Power in Central Asia. While the fighting in Petrograd was at its height the Bolsheviks in Tashkent began to prepare to seize power, but on October 28 (November 10), 1917, Cossacks and army cadets surrounded the Tashkent Soviet and arrested the members of the Revolutionary Committee. Sirens sounded the alarm and in response as many as 3,000 armed workers, Russians and Uzbeks, rallied to liberate the prisoners. An insurrection commenced. Cossacks and army cadets occupied the Tashkent fort and dispatched armoured cars against the city. The workers built barricades and barred their way. The fighting lasted for nearly four days. Uzbek and Kirghizian peasants came from the surrounding villages to help the workers.

On October 31 (November 13), 1917, after stubborn fighting, power passed into the hands of the Soviets. The members of the Revolutionary Committee were liberated from prison and the Soviet government of Turkestan was set up in Tashkent.

To combat Soviet rule in Central Asia, the bourgeois nationalists and Russian Whiteguard colonizers, assisted by the British, set up in Kokand, in November 1917, a government of their own called the "Kokand Autonomy," which started civil war in Central Asia. In February 1918, the Kokand "government" was liquidated by the Turkestan Red Guard, which consisted not only of urban workers—railwaymen and cotton warehousemen—but also of Uzbek, Kirghiz, Kazakh and Turkmen handicraftsmen and peasants.

The People's Commissariat of Nationalities. In the very first days after the victory of the October Revolution a People's Commissariat of Nationalities (Narkomnats) was formed to direct the struggle of the oppressed nationalities for their liberation and

The struggle which the Soviet government waged for the independence of small nations gained for it the confidence of the formerly most backward and downtrodden nations.

37. THE WORLD-HISTORIC IMPORTANCE OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Reasons for the Victory of the October Revolution. The Great October Socialist Revolution was brought about by the working class and the poorest strata of the peasantry. The revolution was socialist in character. After overthrowing the exploiting classes, the proletariat set up the proletarian dictatorship in the shape of the Soviet State. The Soviet State set out to build complete socialist society in our country.

The great proletarian revolution smashed the chains of imperialism and overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie with relative ease.

"There were several reasons for this comparatively easy victory of the socialist revolution in Russia. The following chief reasons should be noted:

"1) The October Revolution was confronted by an enemy so comparatively weak, so badly organized and so politically inexperienced as the Russian bourgeoisie. Economically still weak, and completely dependent on government contracts, the Russian bourgeoisie lacked sufficient political self-reliance and initiative to find a way out of the situation. It had neither the experience of the French bourgeoisie, for example, in political combination and political chicanery on a broad scale, nor the schooling of the British bourgeoisie in broadly conceived crafty compromise. It had but recently sought to reach an understanding with the tsar; yet now that the tsar had been overthrown by the February revolution, and the bourgeoisie itself had come to power, it was unable to think of anything better than to continue the policy of the detested tsar in all its essentials. Like the tsar, it stood for 'war to a victorious finish,' although the war was beyond the country's strength and had reduced the people and the army to a state of utter exhaustion. Like the tsar, it stood for the preservation in the main of big landed property, although the peasantry was perishing from lack of land and the weight of the landlords' yoke. As to its labour policy, the Russian bourgeoisie outstripped even the tsar in its hatred of the working class, for it not only strove to preserve and strengthen the yoke of the factory owners, but to render it intolerable by wholesale lockouts.

"It is not surprising that the people saw no essential difference between the policy of the tsar and the policy of the bourgeoisie, and that they transferred their hatred of the tsar to the Provisional Government of the bourgeoisie.

for the seizure of the landed estates, the movement of the oppressed nationalities for national liberation and national equality, and the socialist movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Undoubtedly, the merging of these diverse revolutionary streams into one common powerful revolutionary torrent decided the fate of capitalism in Russia."

"5) The October Revolution began at a time when the imperialist war was still at its height, when the principal bourgeois states were split into two hostile camps, and when, absorbed in mutual war and undermining each other's strength, they were unable to intervene effectively in 'Russian affairs' and actively to oppose the October Revolution.

"This undoubtedly did much to facilitate the victory of the October Socialist Revolution" (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks], Short Course*, Moscow, 1945, pp. 212-214).

The Significance of the October Revolution. The Great October Socialist Revolution is of enormous significance in the history of mankind. It marked a radical turn from the old capitalist world to the new socialist world. It split the world into two opposite systems—the system of dying capitalism and the system of victorious and flourishing Socialism.

For the first time in history, the Great October Socialist Revolution razed to the ground the old state machinery of the exploiting classes and built in its place a new type of state—the Soviets, as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

By depriving the bourgeoisie and the landlords of the means of production and converting the factories, the land, the railways and the banks into public property, the October Revolution put an end to the exploitation of the masses of the people, rid millions of workers of the horrors of unemployment, and millions of peasants from bondage to the landlords and gradual extinction.

The victory achieved in the establishment of Soviet power gave the people, for the first time in history, not only freedom, but also the possibility of assuring their material well-being, the opportunity to lead a happy, prosperous and cultured life.

The Great October Socialist Revolution brought freedom, for the first time in world history, to the oppressed nations and converted them into free and equal builders of Socialism. Thus it indicated to the enslaved colonial peoples the way to fight for their emancipation.

Before the October Revolution our country was in danger of becoming the prey of the predatory imperialists and of being reduced to the position of a dependent colonial country. The victory of the socialist revolution saved Russia from the danger of losing her independence as a state.

ing, however, that peace without annexations and indemnities would only be possible if the Entente countries agreed to it. The Entente countries rejected the Soviet proposals. But when the Soviet delegation asked the Germans how far they would retire, General Hoffmann answered cynically: "Not a single millimetre." The Soviet delegation suspended negotiations for a week and returned to Petrograd. Lenin proposed that the negotiations be resumed in a neutral country, but the German imperialists rejected this proposal and presented predatory peace terms which included the surrender to Germany of the Moon Sound Islands, the Gulf of Riga and the city of Riga, and also Poland, Lithuania and the parts of Latvia and Byelorussia which the Germans had captured during the war. The Soviet delegation protested against these terms, broke off negotiations and returned to Petrograd again.

The Soviet government was faced with the alternative of concluding peace with Kaiser Germany on the latter's predatory terms or of resuming the war. But the newly established Soviet Republic was not in a condition to fight. A process of spontaneous demobilization was taking place at the front. The soldiers were making for home. The old army was breaking up, but no new army had yet been formed. Utterly worn out by the war, the masses of the working people were longing for peace and were unable to wage another war. On January 8 (21), 1918, at a joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and the Bolshevik delegates at the Third Congress of Soviets, Lenin read out his theses concerning the immediate conclusion of a separate peace with Germany. In his theses he showed that the Soviet Republic was not in a condition to continue the war. It would be sheer recklessness, he said, to make the fate of socialist Russia dependent on the possibility of an early revolution taking place in Germany at a date when nobody could foretell. The conclusion of peace, said Lenin, would not weaken but strengthen the Soviet Republic, for it would give the Soviet government a respite which it could utilize to strengthen the defences of the country and consolidate the power of the Soviets.

The Struggle Against the Trotsky-Bukharin Instigators of War. In its struggle for peace the Bolshevik Party had to overcome the furious resistance of the numerous enemies of Soviet power.

The Russian and foreign bourgeoisie and their servitors, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, wanted to drag the unarmed Soviet Republic into a war with Germany in order to overthrow the rule of the Soviets. This aim was also pursued by the enemies of Socialism and traitors to their country, the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, who were supported by the double-dealers Kamenev and Zinoviev. Concealing his treacherous designs, Trotsky, who was the head of the Soviet delegation in Brest-Litovsk, conducted the negotiations in

of Petrograd to be vigilant and to wage a ruthless struggle against enemies who were trying to organize a revolt in Petrograd and to capture the capital. The German army's offensive was halted. February 23, the day on which the Red Army repulsed the troops of German imperialism has since then been celebrated in the U.S.S.R. as Red Army Day.

On March 3, 1918, the Soviet delegation signed the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the terms of which were even more harsh than those which Germany had proposed at the beginning of the negotiations. By this treaty Soviet Russia withdrew from Finland, Lithuania, Latvia and part of Byelorussia. It had to conclude peace with the Ukrainian Central Rada, demobilize the army and navy and pay Germany an enormous indemnity. At this time Turkey seized Kars and Batum.

The act of provocation committed by Trotsky and Bukharin jeopardized the very existence of the Soviet Republic. As Lenin wrote, the Trotskyites and Bukharinites "actually *helped* the German imperialists and *hindered* the growth and development of the revolution in Germany" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. II, Moscow, 1947, p. 287). The German imperialists gained control of a vast territory covering almost a million square kilometres, equal in area to that of Germany and France put together. Over forty million Ukrainians, Letts, Estonians, Byelorussians and Lithuanians found themselves under the heel of German imperialism.

Ratification of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. Another fierce struggle flared up over the question of ratifying the peace treaty. The Trotsky and Bukharin gang of warmongers entered into a conspiracy with the Right and "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries and organized a counter-revolutionary plot with the object of preventing the ratification of the Brest-Litovsk Peace, of overthrowing the Soviet government and of arresting and killing Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov. This monstrous plot was uncovered only twenty years later.

The Seventh Congress of the Party (March 6-8, 1918) denounced the subversive and disruptive activities of the "Left Communists" and ratified the peace treaty that had been signed in Brest-Litovsk.

On March 14, the Extraordinary Fourth Congress of Soviets was convened to ratify the peace treaty. At this congress the Mensheviks and the Right and "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries formed a united front against Lenin. They were supported by the Trotskyites and Bukharinites. However, the enemies of Soviet rule sustained another defeat. The Congress of Soviets approved the policy of gaining a respite, ratified the peace treaty and called upon the working people to mobilize all forces to defend their socialist fatherland and strengthen its defences.

mined resistance everywhere along their path. Let them know that only over our dead bodies will they enter the capital of the Ukraine."

In Kiev and other cities Defence Committees and Emergency Defence Staffs were formed. The weak Red Guard units doggedly resisted the powerful armoured forces of the German army and held them at bay near Kiev for three whole days, but it was an unequal battle, and on March 1 Kiev fell to the Germans. The German army marched on to Kharkov and the Donetz Basin in one direction, and to the industrial centres of South Ukraine in another.

Along their entire line of advance—from the frontiers furthest west to the northern frontiers of the Ukraine, on the borders of the Voronezh and Kursk Gubernias, and in the East, on the borders of the Don Region—the Austrian and German troops encountered the determined armed resistance of the Ukrainian workers and peasants who were backed by the fraternal Russian people.

The foreign invaders were fought by detachments of the Red Guards consisting of workers from all the industrial centres of the Ukraine. Gradually, the numerous Red Guard detachments were formed into five Ukrainian armies. The Central Executive Committees of the Ukraine, the Donetz-Krivoi Rog Soviet Republic, which had been formed in the Donetz Basin, the Don and Crimea Soviet Republics resolved to combine their forces to wage a joint struggle against the German imperialists. Red Guard detachments from Moscow, Petrograd and other big Russian towns were sent to assist the Ukraine.

The resistance to the German invaders in the Ukraine was organized by K. E. Voroshilov, who at that time was one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks. With the assistance of the veteran Bolshevik Artyom (Sergeyev), Voroshilov united a number of partisan detachments and formed the Fifth Ukrainian Army. When the Germans had seized the Ukraine he determined to fight his way through to Tsaritsyn to unite with the Red Army. For six weeks the Fifth Ukrainian Army fought its way forward through the Cossack Don Region. When the column reached the Cossack stanitsa of Chirskaya it was found that the Whiteguards had blown up the bridge across the Don. Voroshilov ordered the bridge to be repaired. To do this it was necessary to fill the river bed at one point with sand, stones and earth, and build huge trestle supports of railway sleepers. When the comrade who proposed the plan was asked how much earth would be required to fill the river bed he said, pointing to a tall hill situated about two kilometres from the bank: "See that hill over there? It'll have to be dragged to the Don." They set to, and, under fire from the Cossacks, without carts or special implements to help them, carried the earth to the river in baskets. Somewhat later assistance arrived in the shape of the carts of peasants who were retreating with the partisans. The bridge was built and the army proceeded on its way to Tsaritsyn.

occupation 37,000 carloads of provisions and goods of various kinds were taken out of the Ukraine. There were hundreds of thousands of unemployed in the Ukraine. Owing to starvation and epidemics the death rate increased enormously.

The Party led by Lenin and Stalin organized a people's war against the German invaders. Underground Bolshevik organizations were formed all over the Ukraine and insurgent Military Staff Headquarters and Revolutionary Committees were organized. The whole of the Ukrainian people—the miners of the Donetz Basin, the workers of Kharkov, Nikolayev and Odessa, and the peasants of the Kiev, Poltava and Chernigov Gubernias—rallied to defend their native Soviet land. Within a short space of time, in nearly all parts of the Ukraine, innumerable partisan detachments were formed, made up of factory workers, miners and village folk. The partisans made sudden raids upon enemy garrisons and captured arms. The Germans sent punitive detachments armed with artillery and machine guns against the partisans but the latter were not to be caught. Dislodged from one locality they appeared in another, and everywhere they received the assistance of the working people.

One of the famous heroes in this patriotic war against the German yoke in the Ukraine was Nikolai Shehors, the son of a Ukrainian railway worker. The partisans led by Shehors exterminated small German units engaged in plundering the peasants, and hindered in every way the movements of German troops. The Germans sent a large force against Shehors, but he retreated to the borders of Soviet Russia where he formed a regiment named after the Cossack Bogun, a comrade-in-arms of Bogdan Chmielnicki who fought for the liberation of the Ukraine in the seventeenth century. The Bogun Regiment commanded by Shehors covered itself with undying glory.

Insurrections broke out in different parts of the Ukraine. A popular movement flared up. In the towns strikes broke out. In July, a general railwaymen's strike was declared and the railways were brought to a standstill. The invaders crushed the strike with the utmost cruelty and sent many of its leaders to concentration camps in Germany. In spite of this, however, the workers' and peasants' movement against the German invaders continued to grow.

The Fight Against the Germans in the Crimea. In April 1918, the German imperialists invaded the Crimea with the object of entrenching themselves on the Black Sea coast. The well-armed German troops seized the Crimea, after meeting the feeble resistance offered by the newly formed Red Guard. The most stubborn and courageous resistance to the invaders was put up by the sailors of the Black Sea Fleet. To avoid falling into the hands of the German imperialists, who had occupied Sevastopol, the Soviet Black Sea Fleet retired to Novorossiisk—the centre of the Kuban-Black Sea Soviet Republic.

Polesie there were nearly 500 partisans who were armed with machine guns and artillery.

Lenin and Stalin closely watched and directed the struggle of the people against the German invaders. In the spring of 1918, Nikolai Shchors, the organizer of the Ukrainian partisans, arrived in Moscow. He had been invited by Lenin to talk over matters. The partisans received Lenin's advice on how to fight the German invaders in the Ukraine. In June 1918, Lenin issued directives to extend the partisan movement and indicated the methods which should be employed in fighting the invaders. "Hamper the advance of the enemy in every way you can," he wrote. "Lay ambushes. Act with firearms and cold steel. Protect your rear. And for that purpose completely exterminate all spies, provocateurs, and counter-revolutionary traitors who render direct or indirect assistance to the enemy."

The Germans imagined that their march into the Land of Soviets, into the Ukraine and Byelorussia would be a mere walkover. Actually, however, the peoples of the Land of Soviets rose up to wage a general patriotic war which ended in the utter defeat of the German imperialists. Living in an atmosphere of universal contempt and constantly subjected to the blows of the partisans and the Red Army, the occupational forces deteriorated and lost their fighting efficiency.

The Fight Against the Occupation Forces in the Baltic Provinces. During the negotiations in Brest-Litovsk the Germans rejected the demand of the Soviet delegation that the Baltic peoples should be granted the right of self-determination, and on their part demanded that Russia should renounce the territory of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. After the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed the Baltic Provinces were occupied by German troops.

The Lithuanian Taryba, or National Council, sent an address to the German Kaiser expressing their loyalty and begging him to conclude a "perpetual alliance" with the Lithuanian state. In March 1918, Wilhelm II officially recognized the "independence" of Lithuania. Actually, however, Lithuania became completely subjected to the German authorities. Continuing to betray the national interests of the Lithuanian people, the Taryba, in July 1918, proclaimed Lithuania a monarchy, and it was only due to the universal discontent of the Lithuanian people that this proclamation was not put into force. A Lithuanian government headed by Voldemaras, leader of the reactionary "Tautin" party (the Lithuanian bourgeois-landlord nationalist party), was set up.

Forced labour for the benefit of the Germans was introduced. The Lithuanian peasants were obliged to work three days a week repairing roads and felling trees. In addition they were compelled to pay a land tax and numerous other taxes, including a heavy poll tax.

a reign of terror against the workers and Red Guards. About 17,000 revolutionary workers were shot and over 70,000 men and women were herded in concentration camps.

Seizure of Bessarabia by Rumania. Taking advantage of the difficulties the Soviet Republic was encountering, boyar-ruled Rumania with the approval and assistance of the Entente imperialists, seized Bessarabia, which is inhabited by Moldavians, Ukrainians and Jews. As early as November 1917, a Sfatul Tsării, or Regional Council, was set up in Bessarabia which shortly afterwards proclaimed the formation of the Moldavian People's Republic and the decision to join the R.S.F.S.R. But on January 26, 1918, Rumanian troops captured Kishinev. Red Guard detachments fought the Rumanian invaders, but owing to the occupation of the Ukraine by German troops the Soviet units were obliged to retreat from Bessarabia. The leadership of the Sfatul Tsării fell into the hands of the agents of Rumania who secured the adoption of a decision incorporating Bessarabia in Rumania. In December 1918, in opposition to the will of the masses of the working people of Bessarabia, the Rumanian parliament ratified the incorporation of Bessarabia in the Kingdom of Rumania.

40. THE BEGINNING OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Lenin's Plan for the Initial Steps in Socialist Construction. While the working people of the Ukraine, the Crimea, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were fighting for their independence against the German troops in occupation of their territory, the Soviet government in Russia was mustering forces for the inevitable struggle against the German imperialists and for the liberation of the Soviet territories they had seized. At the same time the government of the R.S.F.S.R. strove to utilize the respite won by the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk Peace for the transition to socialist construction. The Bolshevik Party utilized the respite to organize and strengthen the Soviet State and to build up a workers' and peasants' Red Army.

At a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee held on April 29, 1918, Lenin delivered a report on the immediate tasks of the Soviet government in which he urged that it was necessary to take advantage of the respite to start building the foundation of socialist economy, and submitted a plan of how this beginning should be made. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee ratified this plan.

By the spring of 1918, the proletariat was already in command of the key positions in the national economy, namely, the land, the big industrial plants, the railways and banks, the mercantile fleet and foreign trade. No less than 500 enterprises had been nationalized. In Lenin's opinion the main task of the proletarian dictatorship at that

takers. "The famine is not due to the fact that there is no bread in Russia," he wrote, "but to the fact that the bourgeoisie and the rich generally are putting up a last decisive fight against the rule of the toilers, against the state of the workers, against the Soviet government, on this most important and acute of questions, the question of bread" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. II, Moscow, 1947, p. 345).

Lenin explained to the workers that the fight for bread was a fight for Socialism and that it was necessary for them to go into the rural districts, organize the rural poor and take the grain from the kulaks in order that the workers and the army could be fed.

The Soviet government issued a series of decrees dealing with the struggle against the rural bourgeoisie who were hoarding or profiteering in grain. The decree issued in May 1918, for the formation of special workers' food detachments facilitated the task of the People's Commissariat of Food in procuring grain for the state. The Petrograd proletariat chose from its ranks about fifteen thousand of its most advanced members to be sent into the rural districts. Other industrial towns also sent food detachments, made up of their best workers. The food detachments relied on the rural poor in their operations in the rural districts.

On June 11, 1918, a decree was issued, on Lenin's recommendation, regarding the organization of committees of the village poor. The committees were given the responsibility of assisting the People's Commissariat of Food in requisitioning superfluous grain stocks and of redistributing the confiscated land, farm implements and cattle. As a result of these measures of the Soviet State, the village poor and the middle peasants secured additionally over 50,000,000 hectares of land held by the kulaks. The formation of these committees of the village poor marked a further stage in the development of the socialist revolution in the rural districts.

The Committees of the Poor Peasants organized the poorest strata of the peasantry and converted them into active builders of the Soviet system in the rural districts. They were also the medium for forming the Red Army. They explained to the working peasantry the measures adopted by the Soviet State and won the middle peasants over to its side. At first the middle peasants were suspicious of the Committees of the Poor Peasants, but when they became convinced that the Soviet State was helping the middle peasants, that the kulaks had been vanquished, they came over to the side of the Soviet State. This swing-over of the middle peasants enabled the Bolshevik Party, as early as the autumn of 1918, to raise the question of abolishing these Committees of the Poor Peasants and of establishing a firm alliance between the working class and the bulk of the middle peasants. All this ensured the further consolidation of the proletarian state.

ties with Germany and thereby put an end to the hard-won respite. Trotsky sent his followers who were at the head of the Murmansk Soviet the treacherous instruction to permit a landing of British troops in Murmansk on the pretext that they were coming to fight the German imperialists. Lenin and Stalin categorically ordered the Chairman of the Murmansk Soviet to stop this shameful collaboration with the interventionists, and when the Murmansk traitors failed to obey this order they were proclaimed enemies of the people. Trotsky also facilitated the intervention of the Japanese imperialists in the Far East. At the end of March 1918, Trotsky, in conversation with the British representative in Moscow, told him that he had no objection to the landing of Japanese troops in Russia for the purpose, allegedly, of protecting the Siberian Railway. Several days later, on April 5, 1918, Japanese troops landed in Vladivostok. The Entente imperialists, however, were engaged in the world war, fighting decisive battles on the Western Front and therefore could not organize their intervention on a wide scale. Nor could Germany participate in this intervention of the Anglo-French-Japanese-American bloc because she was at war with this bloc. Nevertheless, Kaiser Wilhelm's government remained the bitterest enemy of Soviet Russia, and notwithstanding the peace treaty it had signed with Russia, supported her enemies and did all in its power to isolate, weaken and ruin the Land of Soviets. Under cover of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty it began openly to seize the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic countries.

Conspiracies and Revolts Against the Soviet Regime. When the counter-revolutionary Army General Headquarters were liquidated, the representatives of the foreign powers announced that they were leaving the Soviet Republic. They were, however, in no hurry to quit Russia, but established themselves in Vologda.

The Entente imperialists supported the bourgeois and landlord counter-revolution and supplied money and arms to all the underground organizations in Russia which were conspiring to overthrow the Soviet regime.

The counter-revolutionaries plotted to use as their armed force the Czechoslovak Corps which had been formed during the war of Czech and Slovak prisoners of war. The Soviet government had given this Corps permission to leave for France *via* Vladivostok provided it surrendered its arms and journeyed in small contingents.

On the way to Vladivostok large numbers of Russian officers and cadets joined the Corps, which numbered 60,000 men. The Czechoslovak contingents were strung out along the whole length of the railway from Penza to Vladivostok.

On May 25, 1918, the Czechoslovaks, supported by underground counter-revolutionary organizations, rose in revolt with the object of seizing Siberia, the Urals and the Volga Region. On June 8, 1918

Bukharin, raised a counter-revolutionary revolt in Moscow. The Congress of Soviets suspended its proceedings and declared that all the delegates were mobilized for the fight against the counter-revolution. Under Lenin's personal direction, the Soviet State vigorously crushed this reckless "Left" Socialist-Revolutionary adventure. The "Left" Socialist-Revolutionary party had conclusively become a counter-revolutionary bourgeois kulak party.

While these events were taking place, the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionary adventurer, ex-Colonel Muravyov, who was in command of the troops that were fighting the Czechoslovaks, tried to raise a revolt in Simbirsk, but thanks to the revolutionary vigilance of Comrade Kuibyshev, the adventurer's plot was speedily crushed.

The Czechoslovak revolt and the counter-revolutionary revolts of the kulaks and Socialist-Revolutionaries stimulated the activities of the monarchist counter-revolutionaries who placed their hopes on the last tsar, who, with his family, was at that time under arrest in Ekaterinburg. In view of this, the Ural Regional Soviet resolved, in the interests of the revolution, to do away with the ex-tsar and his family, and in July 1918, they were shot.

The First Soviet Constitution. On July 10, 1918, after the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionary plot in Moscow had been foiled, the Congress of Soviets adopted a Soviet Constitution (the Fundamental Law of the R.S.F.S.R.). This Constitution had been drafted by a commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee headed by Y. M. Sverdlov, with the assistance of Lenin and Stalin. The Constitution was based on the Declaration of Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People and on the "General Principles of the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R." which had been drawn up by Comrade Stalin.

In the Constitution were recorded the first gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Constitution set the aim of "guaranteeing the dictatorship of the proletariat with the object of suppressing the bourgeoisie, abolishing the exploitation of man by man, and of building Socialism." It declared that it was the duty of all citizens of the Soviet Republic to engage in useful labour and proclaimed the slogan: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." It further declared that it was the duty of all citizens of the republic to defend the socialist fatherland, but it granted the right to defend the revolution with arms only to the working people—the non-working elements of the population were only permitted to undertake service in the rear.

The Constitution deprived the exploiters and their defenders of political rights in the Soviet State. All those who exploited hired labour and lived on unearned incomes, and also monks and the clergy, as well as former gendarmes and policemen, were deprived of electoral rights.

Lenin emphasized that now that the power of the landlords and capitalists had been overthrown, the workers and peasants would have to defend their native Soviet land against the imperialists and the counter-revolution. "Since November 7 (October 25), 1917," he said, "we have become defencists.... From that day on we stand for the defence of our Fatherland" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XXII, Russ. ed., p. 291).

To defend Soviet Russia the formation of the workers' and peasants' Red Army was vigorously proceeded with.

At first the new army was an army of volunteers, only the most class-conscious and organized elements of the working classes were allowed to enlist.

During the first two months after the victory of the October Revolution 100,000 men voluntarily enlisted in the Red Army. In addition, the best organized revolutionary units of the old army and the local partisan detachments were incorporated in the Red Army. The stanchest and most class-conscious section of the Red Army was that made up of the proletarian Red Guards. An extremely important part in building the Red Army was played by the Military Commissars, who trained the new recruits politically and welded them together.

In May 1918, a decree was passed introducing compulsory military service for workers and peasants. In the autumn, Lenin called for the formation of an army 3,000,000 strong. On November 30, 1918, the Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence was set up. This Council, which was headed by Lenin, was in charge of providing replenishments for the Red Army and of supplying the front with arms and provisions.

The First Siege of Tsaritsyn. Cut off from the grain regions, the Ukraine, the Volga Region and Siberia, the Soviet Republic experienced severe starvation. The key to the grain regions of the Lower Volga and North Caucasus, which kept Soviet Russia supplied with bread, was Tsaritsyn. That city became the pivot of the struggle that was to decide the fate of the revolution. The counter-revolutionaries aimed to capture Tsaritsyn in order to link up the Czechoslovaks on the Eastern Front with Krasnov's forces on the Southern Front, and thus close the counter-revolutionary ring around Moscow. This would have cut off the Soviet Republic from vital sources of grain and oil, and would have isolated Baku and the Lower Volga from the central area of the country.

On Lenin's recommendation Comrade Stalin was sent to Tsaritsyn to organize food supplies. He arrived in Tsaritsyn on June 6 and found that the situation there was very bad. The Tsaritsyn Soviet was not operating the state grain monopoly, and the city and the adjacent villages teemed with profiteers, bagmen and bourgeois who had fled from Moscow and Petrograd. Naboteurs and spies were ensconced in

went without sleep literally for days on end, his intense activities divided between the theatres of operations and army headquarters" (K. E. Voroshilov, *Stalin and the Red Army*, 1938, Russ. ed., p. 18).

Meanwhile, work went on night and day in the factories and plants, where guns and machine guns were manufactured and armoured trains repaired. The entire population of the town was mobilized to dig trenches.

As a result of this heroic defence, by the end of August the White Cossacks were flung back from Tsaritsyn.

The Attempt to Assassinate Lenin. While the attacks of the Whiteguards were being repulsed at Tsaritsyn, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, in criminal conspiracy with the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, prepared to strike a mortal blow at the revolution by robbing it of its leader and organizer, V. I. Lenin.

In the evening of August 30, 1918, Lenin addressed a meeting at the Michelson Plant (now the Vladimir Ilyich Plant) at which he called upon the workers to rally for the fight against the Czechoslovaks. After the meeting, with workers crowding around him, he walked out into the factory yard to his car. Hiding behind the car, Fanny Kaplan, a Socialist-Revolutionary terrorist, lay in wait for him with a revolver. She fired three shots at Lenin and then tried to escape amidst the confusion, but the workers detained the would-be assassin.

The news of this attempt on the life of the beloved leader of the working people flashed throughout the country like lightning. Their hearts burning with indignation against the enemies of the people, the vast masses of the workers and peasants anxiously watched the bulletins that were issued about Lenin's condition. Thanks to his strong constitution Lenin recovered from his serious wounds, but his health was greatly undermined.

The unparallelled outrage committed by the Socialist-Revolutionaries roused among the masses of the people a feeling of the bitterest



J. V. Stalin in 1918



The Defence of Tsaritsyn. *From a painting by Grekov*

of Red troops. On September 10, the city was captured and cleared of Whiteguards.

Lenin, who was now convalescent, sent the men of the Red Army a telegram congratulating them on their brilliant victory.

Two days later the Iron Division, which had been formed by V. V. Kuibyshev, captured Lenin's native city Simbirsk. The Red Army men sent Lenin the following telegram: "Dear Ilyich: The capture of your native Simbirsk is a reply to one of your wounds; the reply to the second will be the capture of Samara."

Lenin sent an answering message, addressed to Kuibyshev, in which he congratulated the men on their victory and thanked them on behalf of all the working people.

On learning of the villainous attempt to assassinate Lenin, the defenders of Tsaritsyn struck blows at the enemy with renewed energy. On September 7, Comrade Stalin sent Lenin a telegram informing him that the enemy had been routed and hurled across the Don, that the position of Tsaritsyn was now secure, and that the offensive was continuing.

In the middle of September, Comrade Stalin was called to Moscow where he related to Lenin, who was now on the way to recovery, the story of the heroic defence of Tsaritsyn. Lenin and Stalin sent Comrade

old hero commander Nikolai Rudnyev. During the battle of Tsaritsyn splendid Red Army commanders came to the forefront, such as Parshomenko, Budyonny, Timoshenko and others.

In October 1918, on the recommendation of Comrades Stalin and Voroshilov, the first Red mounted unit was formed under the command of Semyon Mikhailovich Budyonny. The son of a poor peasant in the Don Region, Budyonny as a youth experienced all the hardships of an agricultural labourer and later of a trooper in the tsar's cavalry. At the beginning of the Civil War he organized a mounted partisan unit in the Don Region and, like many partisan commanders, fought his way to Tsaritsyn to join the Red Army there. Here the separate mounted detachments were united in a cavalry regiment and later in the First Cavalry Division. Under the command of S. M. Budyonny, this Red Cavalry Division struck crushing blows at Krasnov's forces.

In October 1918, the second plan to capture Tsaritsyn was frustrated just as the first had been. On October 24, Comrade Stalin, who had been called back to Moscow after the White Cossacks were defeated, sent greetings to the defenders of Tsaritsyn in the name of the Soviet government.

Denikin Captures North Caucasus. While Krasnov, backed by the German imperialists, was surrounding Tsaritsyn, Denikin's Volunteer Army marched to his assistance from the South.

Denikin's aim was to cover Krasnov's Southern Front and defeat the Red Army in North Caucasus. The main Soviet forces, which had been mustered by Sergo Orjonikidze, were concentrated near Bataisk, under the command of a former officer of the old army named Sorokin, who turned out to be a traitor. Part of the troops were posted on the Taman Peninsula and part near Tikhoretskaya.

On the proposal of Sergo Orjonikidze, the Soviet Republics of North Caucasus—the Kuban, Black Sea, Stavropol and Terek Republics—decided to combine their forces for the struggle against the counter-revolution.

In the summer of 1918, the First Congress of Soviets of North Caucasus proclaimed the formation of a united North Caucasian Soviet Republic. Before, however, this republic had time to consolidate itself, Denikin launched an offensive with the object of cutting off Soviet North Caucasus from the Volga and of preventing the Caucasian Red Army from striking at Krasnov's forces from the South.

In June 1918, Denikin succeeded in cutting off North Caucasus from Tsaritsyn and marched against Tikhoretskaya, where a Red Army 30,000 strong was concentrated. Denikin had a force of 20,000 men, nearly all army officers, Cadets and upper-class Cossacks. This so-called Volunteer Army was well armed with artillery and armoured cars, which it had received through Krasnov from the

liberated the city. After this Bicherakhov's forces besieged Grozny. The workers of the Grozny oil fields, assisted by the highland poor led by that brave leader of the highlander, Aslanbek Sheripov, staunchly defended the city and held out for three months until it was liberated by troops sent by Sevgo Orjomkidze. To dislodge the Bicherakhov gangs who had fortified themselves in the Cossack stanitsa of Groznyenskaya, right close to the city, it was decided to burn down the stanitsa. The Red Army men bombarded the stanitsa with incendiary shells and bottles of kerosene and drove off the Whiteguards. The Terek remained a Soviet area; the rest of North Caucasus was occupied by Denikin's forces.

43. THE ENTENTE ARMIES ATTACK SOVIET RUSSIA

The Defeat of Germany and the Annulment of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. The latter half of July 1918 marked a turning point in the World War in favour of the Entente. The strength of German imperialism was giving out. In October 1918, Austria sued for peace. In the same month Turkey capitulated. Germany's defeat at the front stimulated revolutionary unrest at home, and on November 9 1918, this unrest culminated in a revolution. Kaiser Wilhelm II fled abroad and a bourgeois republic was established in Germany. Two days later, on November 11, 1918, an armistice was concluded on the Western Front. The World War ended in the defeat of Germany.

The defeat of Germany by the united forces of the Allies facilitated the struggle which the Soviet people were waging against the German imperialists. The German invaders began to be driven out at all points from Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic countries. On November 13, 1918, the Soviet government solemnly announced the annulment of the predatory Brest-Litovsk Treaty. This act marked a victory for Lenin's farseeing tactics on the question of peace. Harsh and degrading as the terms of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty had been, they had nevertheless given the Soviet people a respite, during which the Soviet State consolidated its position, armed its forces and beat off all the attacks of the internal counter-revolution. The change in the international situation enabled the Soviet government to denounce the predatory peace treaty which had been forced upon it.

The Intervention of the Entente Countries. The defeat of Germany complicated the international situation. Describing this situation in the report he delivered at the Sixth All-Russian Congress of Soviets on November 8, 1918, Lenin said: ". . . While we have never been so near to an international revolution, never, on the other hand, has our position been so dangerous as it is now. The imperialists were engrossed with each other. But now the Anglo-Franco-American group

foreign troops to enter Baku under any circumstances. The Baku Council of People's Commissars, headed by Stepan Shaumyan, took energetic measures for the defence of the Baku Commune.

There had been close co-operation between Soviet Russia and the Baku Commune, oil from Baku was sent to Soviet Russia *via* Astrakhan, and Soviet Russia sent Baku grain from its stocks in North Caucasus. But with the seizure of North Caucasus by Denikin's forces, the food situation in Baku became considerably worse. The enemy had cut off the Baku Commune not only from its grain supplies but even from its sources of drinking water. The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries took advantage of this grave situation to intensify their defeatist propaganda and on July 25, 1918, after a stormy session, they succeeded in getting the Baku Soviet to pass a resolution to invite British troops into the city. Several days later a counter-revolutionary government seized power in the city and called in the British troops. The twenty-six members of the Baku Council of People's Commissars tried to escape to Soviet Astrakhan; but the ships on which they travelled were fired at by the British and compelled to return to Baku. The People's Commissars were arrested and flung into prison.

The British remained in Baku only for a month. In September Turkish troops and detachments of Mussavatists surrounded the city. Just before the British left, the arrested Baku Commissars succeeded in escaping from prison and made another attempt to reach Astrakhan, but on the orders of the ship's captain the ship carrying the Baku Bolsheviks suddenly changed course and headed for Krasnovodsk, where the Commissars were arrested by the Transcaspian government. On September 20, 1918, they were taken to a point 207 kilometres from Krasnovodsk and brutally put to death.

The fall of the Baku Commune and the death of the twenty-six Baku Commissars had disastrous consequences for all the Transcaucasian Republics, for after this they long remained dependencies of the foreign imperialists.



N. A. Shehors

troops, supported by Denkin's forces remain. Entente warships were still anchored in the ports.

The Bolshevik underground organizations in Odessa, Nikolayev, Kherson and Sevastopol conducted vigorous propaganda activities among the French soldiers and sailors, and in Odessa the underground Bolshevik organization formed a "foreign committee" in which an active part was taken by Jeanne Labourbe, a French woman Communist, who was ardently devoted to the revolution. Subsequently, Jeanne Labourbe was betrayed by an agent provocateur and was brutally put to death by the French imperialists.

Energetic work among the French forces was also conducted by the French revolutionary sailor André Marty, who organized a mutiny in the French fleet. The mutiny was suppressed and Marty was arrested. He was in danger of being executed, but the protests and revolutionary demonstrations of the French workers secured his release.

Lacking sufficient forces, the interventionists withdrew from Kherson and Nikolayev in March 1919, and concentrated in Odessa, but on April 6, 1919, the Red Army entered Odessa. On April 7, the Red Army, wading across the icy shallows of Sivash, occupied the Crimea.

The main reason for the speedy defeat of the British and French occupational forces in the South was the disintegration that rapidly spread through their ranks. Realizing that they had been deceived, the French soldiers refused to fight against Soviet Russia and said to their officers: "We haven't come here to fight."

In April 1919, the French government was obliged to withdraw its forces from all the Black Sea ports. On the eve of the departure of the French from Odessa the workers in that city rose in armed revolt and power passed to the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Soviet rule was restored in the whole of the Ukraine and the Crimea.

The Failure of the Entente Offensive in the North. In Murmansk and Archangel, about 50,000 Entente troops were landed. The region was controlled by the British who appointed their puppet, General Miller, as Military Dictator. The interventionists shamelessly plundered the region, cut down forests and carried off furs. Everybody



André Marty

Disintegration set in among the Entente forces in the North just as it did in the South. This was facilitated considerably by the Bolshevik propaganda that was carried on among them by means of leaflets which were posted up on trees and scattered wherever the foreign troops were stationed. The result of this propaganda was that the Entente soldiers refused to fight against the Bolsheviks and demanded that they be sent home. The Entente's attempt to destroy the Soviet regime with the aid of their own forces failed. As Lenin wrote: "The victory we gained . . . was the greatest victory we have gained over the Entente. We have deprived it of its soldiers" (*V. I. Lenin. Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, Moscow, 1936, p. 54).

The Liberation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia from the German Invaders. The defeat of Germany gave an impetus to the struggle of all the Baltic people against the German invaders. The expulsion of the Germans was accompanied by mass revolts against the local bourgeoisie who had betrayed the people and had entered into a deal with the invaders.

In Lithuania, after the expulsion of the Germans, the workers set up Soviets which organized revolts against the bourgeois government of Voldemaras. The preparations for these revolts were directed by the Communist Party of Lithuania and Byelorussia that was formed at that time. The Voldemaras government fled from Vilna, and in December 1918 the Vilna Soviet proclaimed the formation of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic. On December 23, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee recognized the independence of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic and issued a decree to incorporate the Kovno and Vilna Gubernias in Soviet Lithuania.

In November 1918, the advancing Red Army compelled the German troops to retire from Latvia too. The various bourgeois parties in Latvia feared that the proletarian revolution would be victorious in that country and in the endeavour to prevent this they set up in Riga a National Council, which, on November 18, 1918, proclaimed the formation of a Latvian bourgeois republic. A provisional bourgeois government was set up headed by Ulmanis, the leader of the Farmers' Union. This government concluded an agreement with the German Social-Democratic government, by which the latter undertook to send "volunteers" to Latvia. Roused to indignation by this act, the masses of the people of Latvia rose in revolt and captured Riga. The bourgeois government fled to Libau. In January 1919, a Congress of Latvian Soviets was held which proclaimed the formation of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Latvian Soviet state authorities formed a Red Army, abolished the private ownership of land, confiscated state, landlord and church lands and expelled the landlords from the country.

In the spring of 1919, the Latvian bourgeois government which had established itself in Libau sent an army of 80,000 men against Riga

the R.S.F.S.R. with the object of establishing federal ties, and appealed to all the independent Soviet Republics to follow the example of the R.S.S.R.

The Fight Against the Polish Invaders in Lithuania and Byelorussia. From the very first days of their existence the young Soviet Republics of Lithuania and Byelorussia were attacked by gentry-ridden Poland, which had become the faithful agent of the Entente. Poland was indebted for her independence to the October Socialist Revolution, but the Polish capitalists and landlords were filled with mortal hatred of Soviet Russia, for the revolution had deprived them of vast estates and capital invested in the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania. Hence, notwithstanding the repeated peace offers of the Soviet government, gentry-ridden Poland broke off diplomatic relations with Russia and with the assistance of the Entente moved her troops to the frontiers of Soviet Lithuania and Soviet Byelorussia.

The Congresses of Soviets of Lithuania and Byelorussia decided to unite their forces against the White Poles and at a joint meeting of the Central Executive Committees of the Lithuanian and Byelorussian Republics a government for the united Lithuanian-Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was formed.

The government of the R.S.F.S.R. rendered the young Soviet Republics all the assistance it could. Y. M. Sverdlov sent them men with experience in Soviet and Party work, and Lenin and Stalin helped them to form a Red Army for the purpose of combating the White Poles.

In the spring of 1919, the White Poles launched an offensive and in April they captured Vilna, the capital of Lithuania.

The government of the R.S.F.S.R. sent units of the Red Army to Byelorussia to assist the fraternal Soviet Republics of Lithuania and Byelorussia. In June 1919, Sergo Orjonikidze, then a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Sixteenth Army, was sent to the Western Front, where he organized the resistance to the White Poles. The Red Army entrenched itself on the river Berezina.

In the parts of Lithuania and Byelorussia they captured, the Polish invaders restored private property and returned the factories to the capitalists and the land to the landlords. Scores of villages were burned to the ground and the peasants were robbed of their grain and cattle.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party the workers and peasants of Byelorussia organized partisan detachments which operated in the rear of the White Poles and also in the frontline areas. In conjunction with the Red Army, these detachments waged a determined struggle against the Polish aggressors for the freedom and independence of their country.



J. V. Stalin, V. I. Lenin and M. I. Kalinin in 1919

lords. In and following the autumn of 1918, the middle peasants swung over to the Soviet regime. This explains why Lenin at that time advanced the watchword: "Know how to reach agreement with the middle peasant, while not for a moment renouncing the struggle against the kulak, and relying solidly and solely on the poor peasant. . ." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIII, Moscow, 1934, Russ. ed., p. 294.)

After hearing Lenin's report the congress passed a resolution demanding that a strict distinction be drawn between the middle peasants and the kulaks and that close attention should be paid to the needs of the middle peasants. The congress adopted the policy of establishing a firm alliance with the middle peasants, and of relying upon the poor peasants, while preserving the leading role of the proletariat in this alliance.

Some of the army delegates at this congress formed what was called the "military opposition," which was headed by the defeated group of former "Left Communists." This opposition tried to drag the Party back to partisan methods of warfare, opposed the employment of military experts in the Red Army, etc. The congress devoted a great deal of attention to the task of building up the Red Army. Lenin and Stalin strongly attacked this "military opposition." Comrade Stalin said: "Either we create a real worker and peasant—primarily a peasant—strictly-disciplined army, and defend the Republic, or we perish."

Kolchak established a military monarchist dictatorship and restored the tsarist regime in Siberia. The Siberian peasants, who had never known landlordism, were reduced almost to the condition of serfs. Their grain and cattle were requisitioned, levies were imposed upon them, and they were compelled to pay not only arrears in taxes, but also taxes several years ahead. For the slightest display of resistance they were subjected to public flogging. Kolchak was exceptionally cruel in his treatment of the workers and Bolsheviks and had them shot without mercy.

Proclaiming the slogan "Russia, united and indivisible," Kolchak cruelly suppressed movements for national liberation. He refused to recognize the national autonomy of a single people inhabiting the territory he occupied. He even refused to recognize the Bashkir counter-revolutionary government headed by Validov, in spite of the fact that the latter served him faithfully. The discontented masses of the Bashkir people compelled Validov to appeal for assistance to the Soviet government.

To stimulate the formation of a united front of the working people against Kolchak and to expose the counter-revolutionary manoeuvres of the Bashkir nationalists, Lenin and Stalin sent a telegram to the Revolutionary Committee in Ufa confirming the autonomy of Bashkiria and granting an amnesty to the Bashkir government headed by Validov. In March 1919, a decree of the Soviet government was issued, signed by Lenin and Stalin, concerning the formation of the Autonomous Soviet Bashkir Republic. The working people of Bashkiria enrolled in the Red Army to fight Kolchak, but the bourgeois nationalists continued to play their double game, in rely waiting for the opportunity to overthrow the Soviet regime in Bashkiria.

Kolchak's Offensive and Defeat. In the beginning of 1919, Kolchak launched an offensive along the whole of the Eastern Front. In the northern direction (Perm-Vyatka), Kolchak's Siberian Army continued operations against the Third Red Army, but thanks to the resolute operations of Comrades Stalin and Dzerzhinsky the Siberian Army's advance was checked at Glazov. In March and the early part of April, 1919, Kolchak's Western Army captured Ufa, Bugulma and Buguruslan and threatened Simbirsk and Samara. Kolchak's middle group of troops which committed the Siberian and Western Armies, threatened Kazan. Finally south of Ufa, and further towards Turkestan, the White Cossack armies of Dutov and Tolstoy threatened Orenburg and Uralsk. Kolchak's offensive assumed threatening proportions and created the danger that the Eastern and Southern counter-revolutionary forces would link up. Kolchak planned to effect a junction with Denikin in the region of Saratov in order to form a single front for an advance against Moscow. At that time Denikin had captured a part of the Donets Basin. Yudenich launched an offensive against Petrograd.

Kuibyshev and Chapayev, launched a general offensive. In the beginning of May, the 25th Division, commanded by Chapayev, fought successful battles at Buzuluk and Buguruslta. On May 13, the Red Army captured Bugulma and the White armies retreated towards Ufa. At this crucial moment Trotsky treacherously proposed that the Red Army's offensive against Ufa should be halted and that part of the troops should be transferred from the Eastern Front to the Southern Front. Had this proposal been carried out, the Urals, with its industrial plants, would have remained under Kolchak's control, and this would have enabled him to recover from his defeat. Frunze strongly opposed Trotsky's order and was supported by Lenin, who demanded that the Urals should be liberated before the winter set in.

Under Frunze's leadership the Red Army forced the river Belaya and battled for Ufa.

Chapayev's division repulsed the counter-attacks of Kolchak's picked corps commanded by Kappel, and after fierce fighting the Red troops captured Ufa. Kolchak's army rapidly retreated eastward. The Red Army pursued the retreating Kolchak forces and reached the foothills of the Urals. On July 13, it captured Zlatoust, thus opening the road into Siberia, and on July 14, Ekaterinburg (now Sverdlovsk).

Meanwhile, fierce guerrilla warfare was waged in Kolchak's rear by partisan detachments composed of workers and peasants from the Urals and Siberia. At the same time, the Red Army commenced offensive operations against Kolchak's allies, the White Cossacks.

Chapayev's 25th Division was transferred to the Ural Front, and there fought its way forwards to the relief of Uralsk, which had been heroically holding its besiegers at bay for the past two months. Chapayev liberated Uralsk and drove the White Cossacks towards



M. V. Frunze



Chapayev Leading a Charge. *From a painting by P. Varshlyev*

boats from Kronstadt *via* the canals of the Mariinsky system. Under Kirov's personal direction, the combined flotilla, numbering about forty vessels, crossed the dangerous shallows to the Caspian Sea where the British were in control. By a sudden raid Kirov captured the radio station by which Denikin maintained communication with Kolchak, and from Denikin's reports he learned that one of Denikin's generals had been sent to Kolchak with the plans of future operations. This general was captured together with the plans.

Fierce fighting raged around Astrakhan. Kirov mobilized all forces to resist the enemy. At a conference of Party members that was held on August 3, 1919, he said: "*As long as there is a single Communist left in the Astrakhan Region the mouth of the Volga will always remain Soviet.*" At this juncture Trotsky sent an order from General Headquarters to evacuate Astrakhan for the purpose of "straightening out the front." Kirov appealed directly to Lenin and urged that Astrakhan must be held at all costs. Lenin sent the following reply: "Defend Astrakhan to the last." Kirov carried out Lenin's order.

captured it. Seraya Loshad also surrendered and was subsequently renamed Perekovoi (Advanced).

The British squadron came to Yudenich's assistance. It attempted to attack Kronstadt, but it met with heroic resistance.

The Red forces began to push back the Whites all along the line. Stalin reported to Lenin that the offensive was proceeding successfully and that the Whites were in flight. In August 1919, Yudenich's army was defeated and its remnants retreated to Estonia.

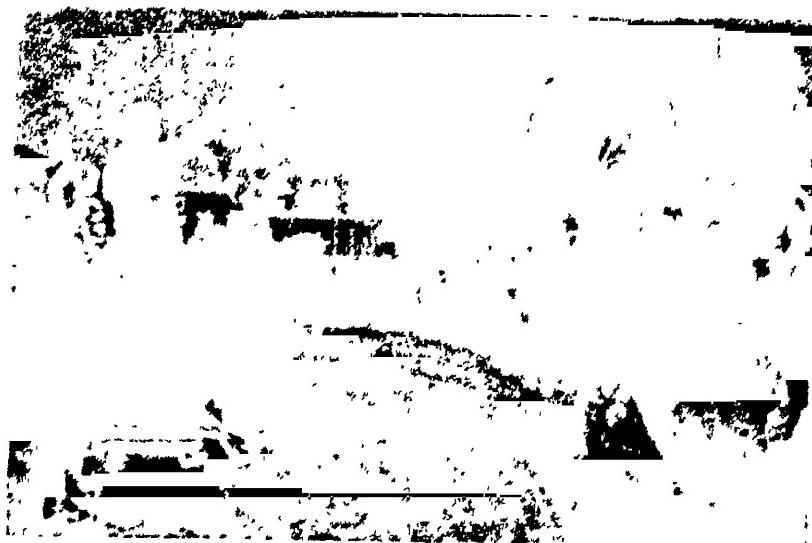
45. THE DEFEAT OF DENIKIN

Denikin Launches an Offensive. The defeat of Kolchak did not discourage the leaders of the Entente. They prepared a "campaign of fourteen countries" against Soviet Russia, to begin in the autumn of 1919. Apart from the Entente countries, Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Transcaucasian bourgeois governments and the Whiteguard forces in Russia and in the Ukraine were to be included in the campaign. But the governments of the border (limitrofny) bourgeois states did not trust the tsarist generals who dreamed of restoring "Russia, united and indivisible." The contradictions within the camp of the bourgeoisie, and above all the resistance offered by the Red Army, resulted in the campaign failing through. The Entente concentrated all its attention on assisting General Denikin, their last hope in the struggle against Soviet Russia. Thus was prepared the Entente's second campaign.

As Comrade Stalin wrote: "The Entente's *second campaign* was launched in the autumn of 1919. This was also a combined campaign, for it involved a simultaneous attack by Denikin, Poland and Yudenich (Kolchak had been struck out of account). This time the pivot of the campaign is the South, in Denikin's region" (J. Stalin, *Articles and Speeches on the Ukraine*, Kiev, 1936, Russ. ed., p. 91).

On July 3, Denikin ordered an offensive on Moscow. His forces advanced in three columns: one, under the command of Wrangel moved along the line of the Volga; the centre was formed by the army of the Don, and the left flank was formed of Denikin's picked troops, the so-called Volunteer Army. To hasten the capture of Moscow, Denikin sent into action a cavalry force under the command of Mamonov. It operated in the rear of the Red armies of the Southern Front, and raided the towns of Tambov, Kozlov and Elets. On October 6, the Whites captured Voronezh. On October 13, Denikin captured Orel and marched on Tula. At this juncture Yudenich launched another offensive against Petrograd.

The landlords and capitalists felt certain that the fall of Moscow was only a matter of days. The capitalists of the Donets Region offered



J. V. Stalin Greets the First Cavalry Army. From a painting by Avilov

"Thirdly, by this advance we will cut Denikin's army in two. One part, the Volunteer Army, we shall leave for Makhno to devour, while the other, the Cossack army, we shall threaten with an attack in the rear.

"Fourthly, we shall be in a position to set the Cossacks quarrelling with Denikin, who, if our advance is successful, will try to move the Cossack units to the West, to which the majority of the Cossacks will not agree....

"Fifthly, we shall secure coal, while Denikin will be left without coal" (K. E. Voroshilov, *Stalin and the Red Army*, Moscow, 1942, p. 23).

Lenin approved of Stalin's plan and conceded his demand that Trotsky should not be allowed to have any say in the affairs of the Southern Front.

To carry out Stalin's plan a special group of shock troops was formed and placed under the command of Stalin's colleague, Sergo Orjonikidze. An extremely important place in the plan was assigned to the operations of Budyonny's cavalry.

Operating in conformity with Stalin's plan, the Red troops, on October 20, 1919, liberated Orel from the Whites. On October 24, Budyonny's Cavalry Corps, which had only just defeated Denikin's cavalry under the command of Mamontov, liberated Voronezh by

the beginning of January 1920, the First Cavalry Army, tireless in pursuit of the Whites, occupied Rostov-on-Don, and on March 27, 1920, Novorossiisk, the Whites' last stronghold on the Black Sea coast, fell. The second campaign of the Entente, who had organized Denikin's offensive, was defeated as thoroughly as the first had been. In his "Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine in Connection with the Victories over Denikin," Lenin wrote: "Denikin must be vanquished and destroyed, and such incursions as his not allowed to recur. That is to the fundamental interest of both the Great-Russian and the Ukrainian workers and peasants. The fight will be a long and hard one, for the capitalists of the whole world are helping Denikin and will help Denikins of every kind" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol II, Moscow, 1947, p. 551).

The organizer of the Red Army's victory over Denikin was J. V. Stalin.

In November 1919 the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, in recognition of Comrade Stalin's tremendous services on the different fronts during the Civil War, conferred upon him the country's highest award—the Order of the Red Banner.

The Rout of Yudenich. At the time when Denikin was at the height of success Yudenich launched another attack upon Petrograd. The Whiteguards were supplied with tanks by the British, and the entire West-European press confidently prophesied the early capture of Petrograd. Lenin sent the workers of Petrograd an order not to surrender the capital. The Communists and Young Communist Leaguers of Petrograd were mobilized to defend the city. Women and



Fortification Against Yudenich at top of Prospect October 25, Petrograd

the peasants were obliged to deliver to the state at fixed prices all stocks of food over and above their own requirements. Lenin explained the need for the measure as follows: "If you, the peasant, offer a loan to the state and give your grain, the worker will be able to restore industry.... There is no other way out!" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., pp. 409-410.)

Food was rationed on a strictly class basis. The bourgeoisie received one-fourth of the workers' ration, but children received rations at a higher rate.

The Soviet State introduced compulsory labour service for all classes. In drawing the bourgeoisie into work the Soviet State applied the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." Military methods, iron discipline had to be established in all Soviet, economic and trade union organizations; commissars were appointed or political departments set up in place of elected leaders. In the war area and areas liberated from the Whites, Revolutionary Committees were set up in place of elected Soviets. The whole of this system of measures, measures evoked by the conditions resulting from the country's defence, was designated by the term "War Communism."

The Civil War made it necessary to put the whole life of the country on a war footing. Only such a policy could guarantee the proletariat a firm rear and an invincible front. Only the strictest discipline, organization and centralization enabled the working class and the peasantry to organize victory over an immeasurably more powerful enemy.

Economic and Cultural Development in the Period of the Civil War. During the Civil War and foreign intervention the entire life of the country was subordinated to the interests of the war fronts; but even when conditions were most severe, when hunger, cold, epidemics, counter-revolutionary conspiracies and revolts and the hardships and dangers of war prevailed, the working class of the Land of Soviets continued the work of reorganizing all aspects of social life.

In the very first months after the establishment of Soviet power Lenin devoted considerable attention to the problem of electrifying the country. On his recommendation preparations were commenced in 1918 for the erection of a powerful hydroelectric plant on the river Volkhov, known as the Volkhovstroy project. In 1919, the erection of an electric power plant at Kashira, near Moscow, was started. At the same time work was commenced on the erection of the Shatura power plant, which was to use as fuel the peat available in the district. Thanks to the invention of a Russian engineer, the problem of utilizing peat fuel was solved, and in 1920 the temporary Shatura power plant began to produce power. From 1918 to 1920, a fairly large number of small power plants was built. In 1920, the output capacity of the electric power plants in Russia was even higher than

is coming to a standstill. We say: 'Comrades, all our attention must be devoted to this problem. Either the lice triumph over Socialism, or Socialism will triumph over the lice!''" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, Moscow, 1936, p. 72.)

To combat epidemics, the Soviet government mobilized about a thousand doctors, who worked with self-sacrificing devotion to save the working people. Free medical assistance was introduced for the working people and many rich mansions were converted into hospitals, dispensaries, crèches and consultation centres.

During the Civil War years masses of workers were given apartments in bourgeois houses, in most cases rent free. Electric light and other municipal services were also free.

Even during the most difficult periods of the Civil War the Soviet State continued its cultural activity among the workers and peasants. At this time about 10,000,000 children attended school in Soviet Russia, whereas in tsarist Russia, which covered a far larger area, only about 8,000,000 children attended school. The Soviet school-teachers remained faithful to the people and vigorously set to work to reorganize the schools and adapt them to the needs and interests of the working people. Not infrequently they worked on empty stomachs and in freezing schoolrooms, and taught both children and adults in spite of the shortage of paper, books and writing materials.

An enormously important part in the cultural awakening of the people was played by the Party and Soviet newspapers, which reached the most remote corners of the country. In the towns, theatres and workers' clubs were opened, which provided free entertainment for masses of people who had never gone to theatres before.

Public dining rooms were opened to relieve workingwomen of the drudgery of the kitchen.

Particular attention was paid by the Soviet government to the struggle against child vagrancy, which became a mass phenomenon. On Lenin's recommendation, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, under the direction of Felix Dzerzhinsky, organized children's colonies where homeless waifs were trained in industrious habits.

During the period of the Civil War the working class set splendid examples of new forms of Communist labour. Communist subbotniks—the voluntary turn-out of masses of workers to perform work of public importance—became a regular sight. The first Communist subbotnik was organized on May 10, 1919, by the workers on the Moscow-Kazan'-k'ya Railway. Lenin called it "a great initiative," seeing in these subbotniks the beginning of the new, Communist form of work, and the embryo of the new labour discipline of socialist society.

The Respite in the Spring of 1920. After Kolchak and Denikin were defeated the Soviet Republic received a brief respite. The Red



V. I. Lenin Taking Part in a Subbotnik in the Kremlin, May 1, 1920. From a painting by M. Sokolov.

militarize labour which had been called forth by the exigencies of the Civil War and economic chaos, into a permanent system of leading the working class and the peasantry. In particular, he proposed that the Labour Armies should be made permanent institutions, for he regarded coercion as the natural method by which the working class should lead the peasantry.

The Party, which during the Civil War had done its utmost to strengthen the military and political alliance between the working class and the middle peasants, rejected all these proposals which could only have led to disaster.

47. THE DEFEAT OF THE WHITE POLES AND WRANGEL

War with Gentry-ridden Poland. The respite which the Soviet Republic enjoyed came to an end in the spring of 1920, when the Entente launched another campaign against the country. This time the Entente chose for its tools gentry-ridden Poland and the Whiteguard General Wrangel, who had mustered the remnants of Denikin's army in the Crimea.

Describing this third Entente campaign against Soviet Russia, Comrade Stalin wrote: ". . . The campaign which gentry-ridden Poland has launched against workers' and peasants' Russia is in fact an Entente campaign. . . . The point is, first, that Poland could not have organized her attack on Russia without the assistance of the Entente; that primarily France, and then Great Britain and America, are giving every support to Poland's offensive with arms, equipment, money and instructors" (J. Stalin, *Articles and Speeches on the Ukraine*, Kiev, 1936, Russ. ed., p. 90).

The Polish imperialists had taken an active part in all the Entente's campaigns against Soviet Russia, and in obedience to the French imperialists, Pilsudski, the head of the Polish state, had answered the Soviet government's repeated peace offers by proposing terms that were nothing more than the provocation of another war.

In April 1920, the Whiteguard Poles, believing that Soviet Russia was not ready for another war and that the Red Army was war-weary, invaded the Ukraine without declaring war. Their aim was to seize the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania, and by annexing these Soviet Republics to form a "Great Poland" that was to stretch from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. The Polish gentry hoped to gain control of Ukrainian grain and Donetz coal. They received the help of those betrayers of the Ukrainian people, the Petliura-ites, who promised to grant estates to the Polish landlords if their government recognized Petliura as head of the Ukrainian (counter-revolutionary) government.

Comrade Stalin described him. In the beginning of 1918, Kotovsky organized a partisan detachment to fight the Rumanian invaders. Later his detachment was incorporated in the Red Army and remained with it throughout the Civil War. He became a terror to the White Poles, and led the cavalry brigade which he commanded, in the boldest attacks.

About the middle of August 1920, the Red Army commenced a drive on Warsaw and Lvov. Alarmed by the victories of the Red Army, the Entente hastened to the aid of the Polish gentry. Thousands of machine guns and artillery pieces and hundreds of aeroplanes and motor trucks were sent to Warsaw from France, and the French General Weygand arrived in Warsaw to organize the defence of Poland.

Earlier, Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary, had called upon the Soviet government to stop the offensive and conclude an armistice with Poland, threatening to declare war in the event of a refusal. Curzon's aim was to secure a respite for the Poles, and consequently, the Soviet government rejected this note.

The Red Army continued its offensive, but the Soviet government declared that it was willing to open peace negotiations with Poland, but without intermediaries.

On July 22, the Polish government sent a request for the opening of peace negotiations. The Soviet government agreed. Negotiations were opened, but were broken off several days later by Poland. The Red Army resumed its offensive.

At this time the First Cavalry Army laid siege to Lvov. In a telegram to Red Army General Headquarters dated August 21, Comrade Voroshilov urged the necessity of capturing Lvov in order to inflict a crushing defeat upon the Poles. The High Command, however, which was headed by the traitor Trotsky, ordered the siege of Lvov to be raised, ostensibly for the purpose of reinforcing the drive against Warsaw. This was downright treachery, for Trotsky's orders deprived the Southwestern Front of its major striking force. The capture of Lvov and the further advance of the First Red Cavalry Army to the principal industrial centres of Poland would have been the best assist-



G. I. Kotovsky



S. M. Budyonny, M. V. Frunze, and K. E. Voroshilov at Headquarters of Southern Front

were the two hands of international imperialism which wanted to strangle the Land of Soviets. With the assistance of the Entente, Wrangel reorganized the remnants of Denikin's army which had been transported to the Crimea in Entente ships from ports in the Ukraine and Caucasia. The remnants of the Russian forces which had fought in France during the imperialist war were also sent to the Crimea to reinforce Wrangel's army. That was how Wrangel's army was formed. The Entente also supplied him with arms, ammunition and provisions.

Lenin saw the danger looming in the Crimea, and as early as March 1920 demanded of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic that it prevent the concentration of a White army there. "Pay close attention to the obvious blunder which has been committed in connection with the Crimea (failure to dispatch sufficient forces in time); concentrate all efforts on rectifying this blunder . . ." he wrote. But the War Department failed to carry out Lenin's instructions.

Lenin's warning was particularly justified because when the White-guard Poles launched their attack the Entente increased its pressure upon Soviet Russia. British naval forces were concentrated off the coasts of the Black and Baltic Seas. On April 4 and 5, 1920, Japan renewed her intervention in the Far East. France and Great Britain were supplying Wrangel with arms and helping him to prepare for an offen-

by the Turkish Wall, which was twenty metres high. In front of this wall there was a deep ditch stretching from the Black Sea on the one side to the swampy Sivash (or Putrid Sea—an inlet of the Azov Sea) on the other. On the wall were mounted about 200 guns. The whole Isthmus was covered with a dense network of barbed-wire entanglements. Near the village of Yushun, south of the Isthmus, a second line of strong fortifications had been built. The Isthmus of Chongar, east of Perekop, was fortified no less strongly than Perekop, and a Whiteguard fleet was stationed there. With the aid of French army engineers Perekop was transformed into a first-class fortress. The only way to attack it was across a completely open and level terrain, or by wading across the Sivash. It proved impossible to make an outflanking movement *via* the Tongue of Arabat, as this needed the support of the Red Fleet, which, however, was icebound in Taganrog Bay. Consequently, Frunze, ignoring the advice of high military experts who regarded this as an absolutely hopeless undertaking, issued the order to storm Perekop. In the biting cold, in threadbare clothes, half starved, and lacking the necessary technical implements, the Red Army men proceeded with the preparations for breaking through the Perekop fortifications.

The Red Army was burning with desire to put an end to Wrangel as speedily as possible. One night the forward units of the 15th and 52nd Divisions, taking advantage of the fact that the wind had driven back the water of the Sivash, waded knee-deep across the muddy bed of the Rotten Sea to get into the rear of the Perekop fortifications, dragging artillery and machine guns through the briny and icy water. When they reached the opposite shore, which was covered with barbed-wire entanglements, the wind changed, drove the water back into the Sivash, and cut off their retreat. The enemy opened a terrific fire. The heroic Red Army men rushed at the entanglements, threw their greatcoats over them and climbed over the barbed-wire obstacles. On November 8, the Soviet troops entrenched themselves on the shore of Litovsky Peninsula, threatening the rear of Perekop.

At about midday on November 8, the 51st Division launched a frontal attack against Perekop, but the first attempt to capture the Turkish Wall failed. Reinforcements were needed for a second assault, but by this time the water was returning to the Sivash, threatening to cut off the forces that were fighting on the Litovsky Peninsula. Calling in the assistance of the local Revolutionary Committees, Frunze mobilized the peasants of the surrounding villages to fight the incoming water. The peasants came out *en masse*, brought along straw, dug ditches, and within a few hours built a dam which held up the incoming water. In this way, fresh reinforcements, ammunition and provisions were sent across the Sivash. At 2 a. m. the 51st Division made another assault on the Turkish Wall, and this time succeeded in capturing it.

After the capture of Perekop the last fortifications in the hand-

"This accounted for the intrinsic weakness of the Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel rear, and therefore for the weakness of their fronts, that is, in the long run, for their defeat" (J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Moscow, 1940, pp. 105-106).

The Liberation of Kazakhstan. At the end of 1918, Soviet rule prevailed over the greater part of Kazakhstan. The People's Commissariat of Nationalities set the Bolsheviks in Kazakhstan the task of establishing an Autonomous Soviet Republic. However, some of the leading members of the Party and Soviet bodies hindered the proclamation of the autonomy of Kazakhstan. The Kazakh nationalists took advantage of this, and in the spring of 1919, while Kolchak was developing his offensive, they carried out, with the assistance of Kolchak's agents, a counter-revolutionary coup in the Turgai Region and captured and shot the Soviet leaders, including Amangeldy Ispanov, the national hero of Kazakhstan.

Continuing its drive against the forces of Kolchak and Dutov, the Red Army went to the aid of the Kazakh people. Comrade Frunze, who was in command of the Turkestan army that was fighting Dutov, issued an appeal to the working people of Kazakhstan to set up Soviets and support the Red Army that was bringing the Kazakh people freedom and independence. In July 1919, a Revolutionary Committee was set up to administer the Kirghiz territory (now Kazakhstan). This committee set up organs of Soviet power in Kazakhstan.

The Liberation of Central Asia. The counter-revolutionary revolts of the Urals, Orenburg and Semirechensk Cossacks cut off Turkestan from Soviet Russia. Turkestan itself saw the development of a counter-revolutionary movement of native feudalists and kulaks, known as the Basmachi. The British imperialists and Russian White-guards who had occupied the Transcaspian Region tried to link up with the White Cossacks and Kolchak's forces and seize Soviet Turkestan. The situation in Turkestan during the Civil War was very grave. The region was cut off from its grain supplies and the population and the cattle died of starvation. The Basmachi plundered and wrecked the villages. The Red Army men were almost in rags and were badly armed; shells and small-arms ammunition for the Turkestan Red Army were manufactured in a primitive way in the railway workshops. Lenin and Stalin paid special attention to the struggle to maintain Soviet rule in Turkestan and sent Red Army units, munitions and provisions to help the working people of Turkestan.

The fighting in Central Asia proceeded mainly along the railways. Trains of an unusual appearance could be seen creeping along the dilapidated tracks. In front of a worn-out locomotive there was a flat car, "fortified" with bales of cotton; behind the locomotive were freight wagons carrying Red Army men, war materiel and supplies and a first-aid station. On the flat car carrying the cotton bales machine guns

forces that were attacking Soviet Turkestan. Bokhara was ruled by an Emir who invited British officers to organize his army. In the beginning of 1918, the working people of Bokhara rose in revolt against the Emir, but the revolt was suppressed with great cruelty. In February 1920, a revolt broke out in Khiva against the Khan, and Khiva was proclaimed the Khoresm People's Republic. In August 1920, another revolt broke out against the Emir of Bokhara. The Red Army came to the aid of the rebels and finally liberated Bokhara. The Emir fled to Afghanistan under the protection of the British. Bokhara was also proclaimed a People's Republic.

The Turkestan Commission headed by Frunze and Kuibyshev did a great deal to restore confidence and friendship among the peoples of Central Asia and also to strengthen their economic and cultural ties with the Russian and other peoples of Soviet Russia. Thanks to the work of Comrades Frunze and Kuibyshev, the working people of Central Asia began better to understand that the Soviet State is the friend of the toiling and oppressed peoples.

The correct policy on the national question pursued by the Bolshevik Party, the policy of Lenin and Stalin, helped the peoples of Central Asia to outlive national strife, and resulted in the consolidation of the Central-Asian Soviet Republics. This facilitated the defeat of the Basmachi bands. An era of peace set in for the peoples of Central Asia.

49. SOVIET POWER IS ESTABLISHED IN TRANSCAUCASIA

The Victory of the Soviet Regime in Azerbaijan. In the spring of 1920, after Denikin was defeated, the Red Army on the Caucasian Front, led by G. K. Orjonikidze and S. M. Kirov, drew near to the borders of Transcaucasia.

The masses of the working people of the Caucasus appealed to the Red Army for assistance in fighting the counter-revolutionaries. In their appeal they wrote: "We do not wish to remain slaves, particularly now, when by our side stands the emancipated proletariat of Russia, with whom we want to form a single proletarian international family."

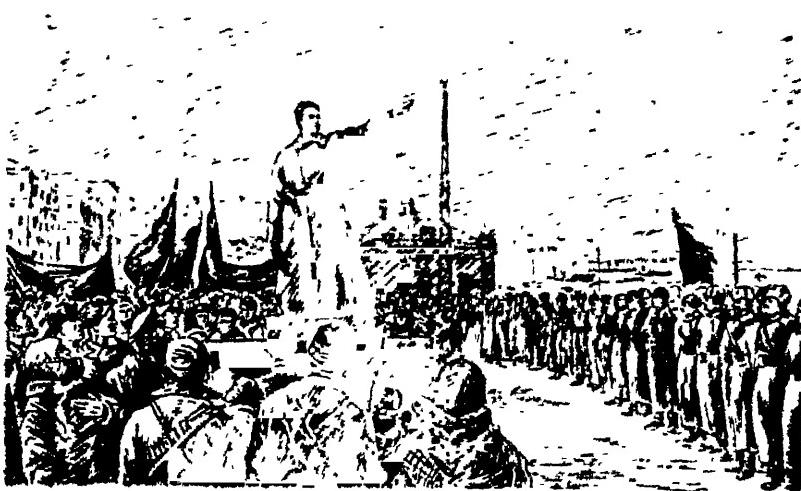
The conditions of the workers and peasants in all the Transcaucasian Republics were extremely hard. Power had been seized by the respective nationalist counter-revolutionary parties—the Mensheviks in Georgia, the Mussavatists in Azerbaijan and the Dashnaks in Armenia—who were in the service of the foreign imperialists and did all in their power to help the Russian counter-revolutionaries. In January 1920, the Transcaucasian Republics, governed as they were by the counter-revolutionary nationalist parties, were officially recognized by the Supreme Council of the Entente. The workers and peasants

menian exploiters. The Dashnacks succeeded in crushing this revolt and dealt ruthlessly with the rebels. The days of the Dashnack regime were numbered, however. The revolutionary movement grew month after month. Another rebellion broke out in the autumn of 1920. The Armenian Revolutionary Committee, which directed this rebellion, appealed to the Red Army for assistance, and with its aid the Dashnacks were overthrown. On November 29, 1920, Armenia became a Soviet Republic.

The Fight to Establish Soviet Power in Georgia. The Georgian Mensheviks pursued the same anti-popular policy as was pursued by the Mussavatists in Azerbaijan and the Dashnacks in Armenia. In January 1919, the Menshevik government of Georgia passed a law for the sale of "surplus" land by landlords to private purchasers. As a result of this "agrarian reform" all the best land was taken by the landlords and kulaks. In dividing the land the landlord was given one share of the land, another share went to his wife, a third to his sister. Thus, all the land was distributed between the landlord's nearest relatives. That meant the restoration of the landed proprietorship in existence before the promulgation of the law of 1919. Deprived of the land, the peasants rose in revolt, seized the land by force and divided it among themselves. The Menshevik rulers sent punitive expeditions against the peasants and set up field courts-martial. The Georgian Mensheviks claimed that theirs was democratic rule, but actually there was no democracy in Georgia. The Mensheviks would not permit free elections to the Constituent Assembly. There was not a single worker or peasant in the Georgian government. All the laws that were passed were in the interests of the landlords, kulaks and capitalists. Trade unions and workers' newspapers were suppressed, strikes were banned, Bolsheviks were flung into prison. The Mensheviks pursued a chauvinist great-power policy, persecuting the national minorities in Georgia.

In December 1918, the Mensheviks launched a fratricidal war against Armenia with the object of annexing villages on the Armenian-Georgian border with mixed Georgian and Armenian populations. Taking advantage of Georgia's advantageous geographical situation, the Georgian Mensheviks prevented the transit of goods over the Georgian railways by imposing exorbitant transit dues.

In view of the fact that the Red Army was drawing near, the Georgian Mensheviks, in the spring of 1920, offered to conclude peace with Soviet Russia, and in May 1920, a peace treaty was signed. S. M. Kirov was sent to Georgia as the Soviet plenipotentiary representative. He vigorously exposed the refusal of the Georgian Mensheviks honestly to carry out the terms of the treaty they had signed with the Soviet government.



Sergei Lazo Addressing a Meeting in Vladivostok on the Day the City was Liberated from the Kolchak Forces, January 31, 1920

to Blagoveshchensk, Chita and the Transbaikalia. The principal area of activity of the Japanese imperialists was the Amur and the Maritime Regions.

At the same time the Japanese imperialists began to supply Kolchak's army lavishly with arms, ammunition and money, and to form Whiteguard detachments on their own account. Their tools were the Whiteguard bandits Ataman Semyonov and Ataman Kalmykov, who were notorious for the incredible atrocities they perpetrated. In August 1918, Semyonov's bandit forces, supplied with Japanese artillery, captured Chita; in September, Kalmykov's bands captured Khabarovsk. On September 18, the Whiteguards captured the last stronghold of Soviet power in the Far East, namely, Blagoveshchensk.

After the fall of the Soviets, power passed into the hands of counter-revolutionary governments—Semyonov's government in Transbaikalia, and Kalmykov's government in Khabarovsk. The Japanese seized the Soviet fleet on the Amur, robbed the Russian fishermen of their catch and the peasants of their grain stocks and cattle. They shipped to Japan huge quantities of provisions and timber.

The Japanese imperialists cruelly suppressed the slightest attempt at resistance. The village of Ivanovka, for example, was subjected to repeated raids by the Japanese. One day the Japanese burst into the village, drove 300 peasants onto the village green, lined them up in rows, and mowed them down with machine-gun fire, row after

Realizing that their position in the Far East was becoming more and more untenable, the Japanese imperialists made repeated efforts to create pretexts for continuing their intervention. In January 1920, after a successful revolt Vladivostok had passed under the control of a Revolutionary Committee headed by Sergei Lazo. On April 4 and 5, the Japanese attacked Vladivostok, arrested Lazo, Lut'ky and Sibirtsev, the Bolshevik leaders in the Far East, and handed them over to the Whiteguard bandits who burnt them alive in a locomotive furnace. The Japanese committed similar atrocities in other towns in the Far East.

The savage cruelty of the Japanese imperialists in the Far East gave rise to universal indignation. A revolt began in Transbaikalia. In October the partisans and the People's Revolutionary Army of the Far Eastern Republic captured Chita. Fearing that Japan would become too strong in the Far East, the United States brought pressure to bear upon her to open negotiations with the government of the Far Eastern Republic for the evacuation of the Japanese troops. The negotiations were conducted in Dairen, where the Japanese imperialists presented seventeen demands, which, if accepted, would have transformed the Russian Far East into a Japanese colony. They demanded that Vladivostok be placed under foreign control, that they be granted unlimited fishing, mining and navigation rights, that all fortresses in the Russian Far East be razed, that the Soviet Pacific Fleet be destroyed and that the northern half of Sakhalin be leased to Japan for eighty years. Finally they demanded a guarantee that a Communist regime would be barred "for all time" from the Far Eastern



Japanese Atrocities in the Maritime Region



The People's Revolutionary Army Enters Vladivostok, October 25, 1922

At the end of 1918, the Japanese ordered the Whiteguard Ataman Semyonov to form a "Great Mongolian State," to consist of Outer Mongolia and the present Buryat-Mongolia, which is inhabited by Buryats, kinsmen of the Mongols.

When the Red Army defeated Ataman Semyonov, the latter's partner, the Whiteguard General Baron Ungern, retreated, in 1920, with his hordes of bandits into Mongolia. In February 1921, Ungern captured Urga, the capital of Mongolia. The Mongolian people took to arms to fight the Whiteguard Ungern and the Japanese imperialists. At the head of this struggle was the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the leader of which was Sukhe-Bator, a printer by trade, who organized the partisan movement. In March 1921, a Mongolian Provisional People's Revolutionary Government was set up and it appealed to Soviet Russia for assistance. The combined forces of the Soviet Red Army and the Mongolian People's Army launched an attack upon Urga.

The whole of Mongolia was cleared of Whiteguards. Urga was liberated and renamed Ulan-Bator-Hoto, which means "City of the Red Warrior."

In 1924, the first Great Hural, or Assembly, proclaimed Mongolia an independent People's Republic. It concluded a treaty of friend-

The Red Army was victorious in the Civil War because the Red Army men understood the aims and purposes of the war and recognized their justice.

"The Red Army was victorious because its leading core, both at the front and in the rear, was the Bolshevik Party, united in its solidarity and discipline, strong in its revolutionary spirit and readiness for any sacrifice in the common cause, and unsurpassed in its ability to organize millions and to lead them properly in complex situations. . . .

"The Red Army was victorious because the Soviet Republic was not alone in its struggle against Whiteguard counter-revolution and foreign intervention, because the struggle of the Soviet government and its successes enlisted the sympathy and support of the proletarians of the whole world" (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks]*, Short Course, Moscow, 1945, pp. 245-246).

The Bolshevik Party trained splendid commanders and commissars who led the Red divisions and armies into battle. The heroic struggle of the Soviet people and of the Red Army was directed by the greatest geniuses in the history of mankind—Lenin and Stalin.

The Bolshevik Party, Lenin and Stalin created a body of military commissars who gave political training to the Red Army men, established indissoluble bonds between the Red Army men and their commanders and imbued them with the spirit of discipline, revolutionary courage and military ardour.

intelligentsia energetically came out in defence of the Soviet Republic, their watchword being "Hands off Soviet Russia!"

Under these circumstances, the governments of the capitalist countries were obliged to recognize Soviet Russia, but this did not mean that they had abandoned the struggle against the Soviet; this struggle merely assumed different forms. In the endeavour to cause the utmost ruin in the country the foreign imperialists and the Russian counter-revolutionaries sent spies and saboteurs into the country and plotted new revolts against the Soviet State.

During the whole of 1921, the foreign imperialists continued to send bandit gangs into Soviet territory. Assisted by the landlords of Poland Petliura's bands operated in the Ukraine. The bandits led by Makhno found refuge in Rumania and from there they were sent back to work against Soviet Ukraine. In Byelorussia the bands of the Polish agent Bulak-Bulakhovich were rampant. In Karelia, White Finnish army officers, directed by the Finnish Baron Maunerheim, organized a counter-revolutionary revolt. In the Far East, the Japanese imperialists, jointly with the Russian Whiteguard, terrorized the inhabitants of Transbaikalia and the Maritime Region. In the heart of Soviet Russia, the agents of imperialism—the Socialist-Revolutionaries—organized a kulak bandit movement. In the Tambov Gubernia its ringleader was that bandit, the Socialist-Revolutionary Antonov, and in the Saratov Gubernia just the same sort of Whiteguard, the Socialist-Revolutionary Sapozhkov. In the Urals and in Siberia, the kulaks, organized by the Socialist-Revolutionaries, incited the peasants to resist the Soviet authorities, disrupted the supply of grain to the industrial centres, buried the grain in pits and let it rot, wrecked railways, and killed Soviet officials.

Economic Ruin in Soviet Russia. The seven years of war—the imperialist and civil wars—caused economic ruin in Soviet Russia to a degree that no other belligerent country experienced.

During the period of the Civil War only a ninth part of the territory of Russia remained under Soviet rule; the rest was under the heel of the different foreign interventionists who succeeded each other. The productive forces of the country were in a state of ruin. In the course of the Civil War a large part of the railway tracks and over 7,000 bridges, of which 3,500 were railway bridges, were wrecked. The damage resulting from the wrecking of industrial plants and the flooding of mines amounted to hundreds of millions of rubles, and the loss inflicted upon the entire national economy of the Land of Soviets was estimated at tens of billions of rubles. The total output of agriculture in 1920 was only a half of the pre-war amount, while the pre-war level itself was that of the poverty-stricken rural districts of tsarist Russia. In many gubernias the crop failed, and throughout the country about 20,000,000 hectares of land remained unsown. Peasant

bourgeois-nationalists — revived. Posing as non-party people, they dropped their former slogan of "Down with the Soviets" and issued a new one "For the Soviets, but without Communists!" These new tactics of the class enemy found most vivid expression during the counter-revolutionary mutiny that broke out in Kronstadt in March 1921.

Kronstadt was the chief base of the Baltic Fleet. During the revolution and the Civil War, the Baltic Fleet sent many thousands of devoted revolutionary fighters to the different fronts. Among the new recruits for the navy at that time were casual individuals, frequently declassed elements, who had not been steeled by the revolution. The work of political education was at that time badly organized in the Baltic Fleet, and the Trotskyites, who managed to get into leading positions in the fleet, caused the degeneration of a group, a small one, of Communist sailors. Posing as "non-party" people, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and Anarchists intensified their disruptive activities in the fleet and at a meeting of sailors held on March 1, they succeeded in securing the adoption of a counter-revolutionary resolution. Kronstadt fell into the hands of a bunch of Whiteguard agents.

The military operations of the Kronstadt mutineers were directed by Whiteguard military experts, headed by General Kozlovsky. The mutineers had the support of all the counter-revolutionary forces at home and abroad. The Whiteguard émigrés in Paris organized collections of money and provisions for the mutineers, and the American Red Cross sent food supplies to Kronstadt under its flag. The Constitutional-Democrat, Milyukov, supplied the Kronstadt counter-revolutionaries with the watchword "Soviets without Communists."

In an exposure of the manoeuvres of the class enemy Comrade Stalin said subsequently: "Soviets without Communists—such was then the watchword of the chief of the Russian counter-revolution, Milyukov. The counter-revolutionaries understood that it was not only a matter of the Soviets themselves, but, first and foremost, of who would direct them" (J. Stalin, *Articles and Speeches*, Moscow, 1934, Russ. ed., p. 217).

Kronstadt remained in the hands of the Whiteguards for seventeen days. The Committee of Defence of the Petrograd Fortified Area failed to crush the mutiny at its birth. Zinoviev negotiated with the traitors for seven whole days, thereby giving them time to fortify themselves. Picked units of the Red Army were sent to crush the Kronstadt counter-revolution. The Tenth Congress of the Party, which was in session at that time, sent 300 of its delegates, headed by K. E. Voroshilov, to reinforce them. On March 16, the revolutionary soldiers, camouflaged in white coveralls, commenced an assault upon the main forts of Kronstadt, rushing forward in spite of continuous machine-gun fire and the bursting shells which broke the



V. I. Lenin at the Testing of the First Electric Plough

of administration, a school of economic management, a school of Communism. The trade unions should work by methods of persuasion, for in that way they would succeed in drawing the workers into socialist construction, in mobilizing them for the speediest liquidation of the economic chaos in the country. The Party supported Lenin; the oppositionists were utterly routed.

Comrade Stalin has described the situation in Soviet Russia on the termination of the Civil War in the following words: "Ruined by four years of imperialist war, and ruined again by three years of civil war, a country with a semi-literate population, with a low technical level, with isolated industrial oases lost in a sea of dwarf peasant farms—such was the country we inherited from the past. The task was to transfer this country from mediaeval darkness to modern industry and mechanized agriculture" (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1947, p. 520). This was a task of unprecedented difficulty.

The Eighth Congress of Soviets and the GOELRO Plan. The Soviet State exerted all efforts to remove as speedily as possible the grave domestic difficulties being experienced by the country after the termination of the Civil War.

The Eighth Congress of Soviets, which met in December 1920, drew up a whole series of measures to bring about the economic revival of the country. The congress was held in the Bolshoi Theatre, in Moscow; owing to the lack of fuel the theatre was unheated and the delegates were obliged to sit in their felt boots and overcoats. On the stage hung a huge map of the future electrification of the Land of Soviets. Small shining electric lamps indicated where electric power plants were to be built in the future. Lenin explained the importance of the plan for the electrification of the country as a means of passing from poverty and ruin to socialist construction.

but could not at that time be operated owing to the outbreak of the Civil War. Lenin proposed a return to the tax in kind and that tax assessments should be lower than the surplus appropriations had been.

Under this law the peasant could sell on the market all that was left over after he had made his tax deliveries to the state. Thus, he secured complete control of his surplus food stocks. To permit free trade meant a certain revival of capitalism in the country. Lenin emphasized, however, that as political power was in the hands of the working class, which also occupied the economic key positions in the country—the land, large-scale socialist industry, the transport system, and the monopoly of foreign trade—there was no danger in permitting capitalism within certain limits, and under the control of the Soviet State. When it secured a leading position in trade, the Soviet State would succeed in linking up socialist industry with peasant farming and create the conditions for liquidating capitalism in the country.

In March 1921, the Tenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party was held. This congress adopted the historic decision to abolish the surplus-appropriations system and to introduce the tax in kind instead. This meant the adoption by the proletarian state of a new economic policy when the war was over. The New Economic Policy (NEP)—a product of Lenin's genius—was conceived by him as a plan for the transition to Socialism. The main significance and point of this plan, in his opinion, was that it fully ensured the building of the foundation of socialist economy. The struggle between Socialism and capitalism was transferred to the economic arena. Here, said Lenin, a fierce struggle lay ahead, but the country possessed all that was needed to ensure that in this struggle Socialism achieved complete victory over capitalism.

The enemies of Socialism maliciously distorted Lenin's theory of the New Economic Policy. The Trotskyites and Bukharinites argued that it was nothing but a retreat; it was in their interests to argue in this way because their line was to restore capitalism in Russia. While Lenin regarded the New Economic Policy as the road to Socialism, the Trotskyites and Bukharinites regarded it as the road to capitalism. Comrade Stalin upheld and developed Lenin's theory of the New Economic Policy as the only correct economic policy the victorious proletariat could adopt for the purpose of building Socialism. He gave the New Economic Policy the following classical definition: "NEP is a special policy of the proletarian state calculated on permitting capitalism while the key positions are held by the proletarian state, calculated on a struggle between the elements of capitalism and the elements of Socialism, calculated on an increase in the role of the socialist elements to the detriment of the capitalist elements, calculated on the victory of the socialist elements over the capitalist elements,

letariat in force, trade, and therefore capitalism, which was permitted within certain limits, must be controlled and regulated by the proletarian state.

Lenin set the proletarian state the following task: it "must become a cautious, assiduous and shrewd 'businessman,' a punctilious wholesale merchant—otherwise it will never succeed in putting this small-peasant country economically on its feet" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. II, Moscow, 1947, p. 752).

Trade, to use Lenin's expression, was—in 1921-1922—the "link" which had to be grasped in order to pull up the whole "chain," i. e., to ensure the successful building of Socialism. "Communists," said Lenin, "must learn to trade." Some Communists said: "We were not taught to trade when we were in prison." To this Lenin answered: "There were lots of things we were not taught in prison which we were obliged to learn after the revolution, but we learned them and learned them very well" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 75).

At first, economic development proceeded slowly on the basis of the New Economic Policy, for the consequences of the Civil War, the blockade and the general state of ruin made themselves severely felt. In 1921, there was a grave failure of the harvest and 20,000,000 people starved. The Volga Region, which had been devastated by the Whiteguards, was particularly hard hit.

The Soviet government mobilized resources to assist the famine-stricken; voluntary contributions were collected all over the country, the slogan being "Ten persons who have food must feed one starving person."

The capitalist world tried to take advantage of these new difficulties, and saboteurs and spies set fire to and blew up Soviet enterprises. The American Relief Administration adapted its operations to this hostile, subversive work.

The New Economic Policy, however, strengthened the alliance between the workers and peasants. Agriculture began to revive, and the autumn sowing in 1921 was carried out successfully. Even the famine-stricken districts sowed 75 per cent of their winter crop area. Kulak banditism was wiped out, the peasants assisting the Red Army in this. Industry and transport began to be restored.

The first results of the New Economic Policy were summed up at the Ninth Congress of Soviets, which opened at the end of December 1921. The congress took a number of decisions which were to adjust the entire work of Soviet bodies and the whole of Soviet legislation to the new conditions. It proclaimed the raising of agriculture as the most important task of the period immediately ahead; it called upon industry to supply the peasants with larger quantities of manufactured goods. To demonstrate the first achievements of



V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin in the Summer of 1922

delegation upheld the economic independence of the Soviet Republics as vigorously as it had done in Genoa. After the Genoa and Hague Conferences the Soviet Republic's international position was greatly strengthened. Its prestige was raised particularly by the fact that the Soviet delegation at the Genoa Conference had demanded a universal reduction of armaments.

The Offensive Undertaken on the Basis of NEP. In his report at the Eleventh Congress of the Party that was held in March 1922, Lenin stated that the transition from War Communism to the New Economic Policy had been, in the main, completed. "The retreat has ended," he said, and called for the regrouping of all the forces of the Party and the Soviet State for the purpose of launching an offensive upon private capital.

Building the foundation of socialist economy meant building up a highly developed industry, for that is the foundation of Socialism; but the start had to be made with agriculture. As Comrade Stalin

trade gradually developed and established itself in opposition to the private trader. Effect was given to Lenin's watchword of "Learn to trade!" The Party, led by Lenin, perseveringly and methodically waged the offensive against private capital within the framework of the New Economic Policy.

The Struggle Against Counter-Revolution in the Period of Restoration. The fact that capital had been permitted to function within certain limits gave a new impetus to the class struggle in the U.S.S.R. As Lenin wrote: "The enemy is the petty-bourgeois element which surrounds us like the air, and penetrates deep into the ranks of the proletariat. . . . The petty-bourgeois element in the country is backed by the whole international bourgeoisie, which is still world-powerful" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. II, Moscow, 1947, p. 740).

Having lost all hope of overthrowing Soviet rule by force of arms, the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie began to base their hopes on its degeneration under NEP conditions.

For example, the bourgeois ideologist, Professor Ustryalov, in a symposium entitled *Smena Vekh*, called upon the bourgeois intelligentsia to go into the service of the Soviet State, with a view to gaining control of the entire economic and cultural life of the country and accelerating the degeneration of the Soviet State into a bourgeois state. Dealing with the class basis of this trend, Lenin said: "The *Smena Vekh*-ites express the sentiments of thousands and tens of thousands of all sorts of bourgeois people, or of Soviet employees, who are participating in the operation of our new economic policy. This is the real and main danger" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., p. 243).

The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries had utterly exposed their true character while the Civil War was still going on. Now they disguised themselves as non-party people and conducted a furious campaign against the New Economic Policy, speaking often at conferences of non-party workers.

Abroad there was a Socialist-Revolutionary terrorist organization which received funds from foreign governments for the purpose of organizing revolts in the Land of Soviets and of conducting espionage, sabotage and terrorist activities. The G.P.U. (State Political Administration), discovered an underground Socialist-Revolutionary organization. The members of this organization were arrested and brought up for trial before the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal on the charge of conducting counter-revolutionary terroristic activities against the Soviet State. The Second International sent lawyers to Moscow to defend these conspirators. The workers of Moscow met these advocates of the counter-revolution with a mighty demonstration of anger and derision. The Soviet court proved incontrovertibly the

the Central Executive Committee of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic issued a decree making the Tatar language the official language of the Republic on a par with Russian. Under the tsar there were only 70 Russian village schools in the area of the Tatar Republic, but not a single Tatar school, except for the Mohammedan religious schools; in 1924, however, there were already in the Republic 1,700 elementary schools, conducted in the Tatar language.

In October 1920, the First Congress of Soviets of Kazakhstan proclaimed the formation of the Kirghiz Autonomous Republic on the territory of Kazakhstan. One of the first decrees issued by the Kirghiz Soviet government was that discontinuing further migration from Central Russia to Kazakhstan. This ensured security of tenure for the Kirghiz inhabitants and eased the task of converting the Kazakhs to a settled agricultural life. The Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Kirghiz Republic also issued a series of decrees concerning marriage law and abolished a number of ancient laws and customs which had perpetuated the survivals of the patriarchal-tribal system among the working people of Kazakhstan.

The Soviet State conducted similar activities in North Caucasus and in Daghestan aimed at the national emancipation of the peoples forming part of the R.S.F.S.R.

The Daghestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed at the First Daghestan Congress of Soviets, held immediately after the termination of the Civil War. The specific feature of Daghestan is that its population is divided up into numerous tribes speaking six different languages and thirty-two dialects. Before Soviet power was established many of the peoples of Daghestan had no alphabet. By 1924, however, there were already over a thousand schools in the Republic. Shortly after the establishment of Soviet power industry and agriculture began to develop in Daghestan. Irrigation canals were dug to facilitate the further development of agriculture.

The Karelian Soviet Republic was formed in the summer of 1920. The White Finns exerted all efforts to destroy the Karelian Republic. In the autumn of 1921, White Finnish bands invaded Karelia. This invasion had been organized by the heads of the Vyborg Bank and the big Finnish lumber companies.

In February 1922, the White Finns were driven out of Karelia by the Red Army with the active assistance of the Karelian peasants. After firmly establishing itself in Karelia the Soviet State proceeded to develop the immense power resources of the Karelian waterfalls. The erection of a hydroelectric power plant was soon begun on the river Konda. Education made great strides; a large number of elementary and secondary schools, conducted in the native language,

Uk.S.S.R. and the R.S.F.S.R. establishing a military and economic alliance. Some of the People's Commissariats, such as the Commissariats of War and the Navy, Finance, Railways, Foreign Trade, etc., were amalgamated. Similar treaty relations were established between the R.S.F.S.R. and the other Soviet Socialist Republics—Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia.

Experience showed, however, that these ties were not enough. Economic development called primarily for the further strengthening of the alliance between the peoples. Their meagre economic resources had to be combined in order that the best use could be made of them. The economic division of labour between the different regions made the separate existence of the national republics impossible. For example, the Donetz Basin, *i. e.*, the Ukraine, was then the centre of the coal and iron and steel industry. Baku, in Azerbaijan, was the centre of the oil industry. Chiatury, in Georgia, was the centre of the manganese industry. Central Asia, *i. e.*, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, was the cotton growing region. The Moscow Region was the centre of the cotton textile industry and Petrograd of the engineering industry, and these are in the R.S.F.S.R. With such a division of labour, the building of Socialism was possible only if the national republics were economically and politically united. Unification was also dictated by the interests of defending the Soviet land. The successful activities of the joint Soviet delegation in Genoa and The Hague had proved the necessity of conducting a joint foreign policy. Unity was also prompted by the necessity of ensuring the all-round development of all the nationalities in the Soviet State, where power is based not upon the exploitation of man by man but upon uniting all the peoples to form one socialist family.

Thus, life itself dictated closer and more expedient forms of collaboration between the Soviet Republics. In March 1922, the three Transcaucasian Soviet Republics concluded among themselves a treaty of military, political and economic alliance. Thus was formed the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. The First Transcaucasian Congress of Soviets ratified the formation of the Transcaucasian S.F.S.R., set up a Transcaucasian Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars, and sent a proposal to the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to call a joint Congress of Soviets of the four republics—R.S.F.S.R., Transcaucasian S.F.S.R., Uk.S.S.R. and B.S.S.R.—to discuss the formation of a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Similar decisions were adopted by the All-Ukrainian and All-Byelorussian Congresses of Soviets.

On December 26, 1922, the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets unanimously supported the proposal of the non-Russian republics. The speeches delivered at this congress by the representatives of the fraternal Soviet Republics were a mighty demonstration of peo-

only to an infinitesimal degree in democratic republics. We are settling them, and we need somebody to whom the representative of any nation can go and give a detailed account of what is wanted. Where can we find such a man? . . ." He went on to say that the only suitable man for this job was Comrade Stalin who, as People's Commissar of Nationalities, had without interruption directed the work of forming the fraternal union of Soviet Republics. "Nobody," he added, ". . . could name a candidate other than Comrade Stalin" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1937, Russ. ed., pp. 263-264).

Comrade Stalin rendered enormous service in bringing about the formation of the U.S.S.R. and in drawing up the first Constitution of the Soviet Union.

The First Constitution of the U.S.S.R. The structure of the Soviet State and of its organs, and the rights and duties of Soviet citizens were defined in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. The Constitution was finally ratified by the Second Congress of Soviets in January 1924. Every Union Republic had its own Constitution. The Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R., like the Constitutions of the other Union Republics, set itself the task of "guaranteeing the dictatorship of the proletariat with the object of suppressing the bourgeoisie, of abolishing the exploitation of man by man and of bringing about Communism...."

According to the Union Constitution, the supreme organ of the U.S.S.R. was the Congress of Soviets of the Union. In the intervals between congresses, the supreme organ of Soviet power was the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. The Central Executive Committee consisted of two Chambers—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. All the republics, irrespective of the number of their inhabitants, were given the right to send an equal number of representatives to the Soviet of Nationalities.

The Union and Autonomous Republics set up their own Councils of People's Commissars.

According to the 1924 Constitution of the U.S.S.R. the right to elect and be elected to Soviets was granted to all citizens of both sexes who had reached the age of eighteen on election day, irrespective of religion, race, nationality or domicile. Only those citizens were deprived of electoral rights who exploited hired labour, private traders, ministers of religion, former police officers and gendarmes and also those sentenced by a court to deprivation of political rights.

Thus, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics constituted an entirely new type of state, one which ensures the unity and friendship of the peoples inhabiting it in the work of building Socialism and of defending the state against the imperialists, ensures the free national development of the peoples, their independence and constructive ini-

article "How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" he urged the necessity of preserving and strengthening the unity of the Party, as the vital condition for the further success of the proletarian dictatorship. In his last article, "Better Fewer, but Better," he urged the necessity of strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and of achieving the utmost development of large-scale machine industry, the basis of Socialism. As he put it figuratively, it was necessary to change "from the peasant, muzhik horse of poverty . . . to the horse of large-scale machine industry, of electrification, of Volkhovstroy, etc." (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. II, Moscow, 1947, p. 855.) In all his last articles and speeches Lenin gave concrete directions as to how this was to be accomplished.

He was of the opinion that Socialism could be achieved in agriculture by uniting the individual peasant farms to form co-operative farms, and by reorganizing agriculture on the basis of machine industry and electrification. In his article "On Co-operation" he showed that the Land of Soviets possessed all that was needed to build complete socialist society. Amplifying his co-operative plan, Lenin showed that the medium through which the peasants were to be drawn into socialist construction was co-operation; but complete co-operation and the transition to Socialism could not be achieved without a cultural revolution, for the cultural backwardness of the peasants was the most serious obstacle to the socialist re-organization of agriculture.

Lenin called for the raising of cultural standards in the U.S.S.R. and in this regard urged that a start should be made by abolishing that shameful survival of tsarism—illiteracy. The standard of literacy in Russia was still far below that of the more cultured countries in Western Europe. In 1920, the rate of literacy in Russia was 319 per 1,000 and in some districts it was even lower. Lenin demanded that school-teachers should be placed on a level on which they had never stood nor ever could stand in bourgeois society.

The main points of Lenin's great plan for the building of Socialism in our country may be enumerated as follows: having seized power, hold the key positions in the economic life of the country; place the country's economy on the basis of modern advanced technique; build socialist industry and by means of it technically re-equip agriculture, organize the peasants in co-operative societies and convert small individual backward agriculture into large-scale collective socialist agriculture; secure the economic independence of the Land of Soviets and build up its defences; strengthen the U.S.S.R. as the base of the struggle for Socialism all over the world.

The Twelfth Congress of the Bolshevik Party. In March 1923, Lenin suffered a severe relapse. He was taken to the village of Gorki near

Foreign spies developed extensive espionage and sabotage activities in the U.S.S.R. The Soviet government had a number of British spies arrested and deported them. Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary, sent the Soviet government an ultimatum demanding "damages" for the arrest of the spies, that the Soviet plenipotentiary representatives be recalled from Persia and Afghanistan because of their alleged anti-British activities, and that British fishermen be permitted to fish off the Soviet coasts. The ultimatum was accompanied by a threat of new intervention.

The bourgeois press in Great Britain and France launched a fierce anti-Soviet campaign. Encouraged by Curzon's ultimatum, the dregs of the various Whiteguard gangs abroad became active again. In May 1923, V. V. Vorovsky, the Soviet representative in Italy, a most prominent Bolshevik and outstanding Soviet diplomat, was assassinated while in Switzerland, by a Whiteguard.

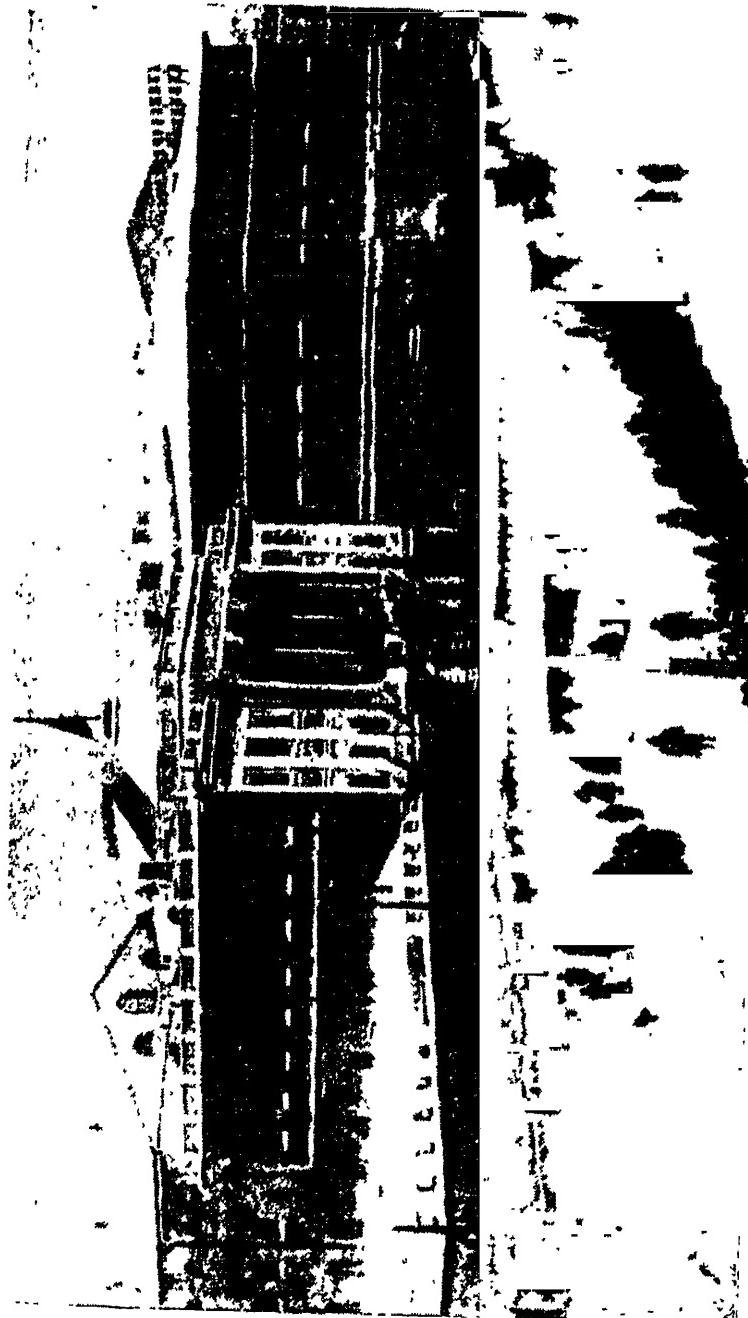
The working people of the U.S.S.R. answered Curzon's ultimatum and the assassination of Vorovsky with huge protest demonstrations in which they expressed their determination to resist. All over the country funds were collected for the construction of an aircraft squadron which was named "Ultimatum." At that time also the society known as the Friends of the Air Fleet was inaugurated.

In answer to all acts of provocation the Soviet government sent a note containing the categorical warning that "the position of the Soviet Republic has not, cannot have, nor will have anything in common with dependence upon the will of a foreign government."

Curzon's act of provocation roused a storm of protest and indignation among the British workers, and the Conservative government was forced to resign. At the end of 1923, the so-called "Labour government," headed by Ramsay MacDonald, came into office in Great Britain, and in February 1924, yielding to the demands of the British workers, the MacDonald government recognized the Soviet government and established diplomatic relations with it.

The Difficulties of Restoring the National Economy. International complications were aggravated by the difficulties of restoring the national economy. The growth of industry lagged behind the country's requirements. At the end of 1923, there were about a million unemployed in the country. In July 1923, the Supreme Council of National Economy, which was headed by the Trotskyite Pyatakov, issued an order to the State Trusts to make the highest possible profit by raising the prices of manufactured goods. The price paid for grain, on the other hand, was kept at a low level.

The result was that the peasants found it difficult to buy manufactured goods and the factories had no market for their products. Co-operative and state trade lacked working capital. The Soviet currency became unstable. This affected the economic position of the workers



Working People Taking Their Last Leave of V. I. Lenin in the House of Trade Unions, Moscow

working people in the most remote parts of the country sent delegations to Moscow to attend Lenin's funeral. The peasants in the Volga Region collected grain for a fund to build a monument to Lenin. The workers and peasants named towns, streets, factories and villages after Lenin. At the request of the workers, Petrograd, where Lenin had commenced his revolutionary activities as the leader of the proletariat and where he had led the working class in a victorious insurrection and to the capture of power, was named in his honour, Leningrad.

On January 23, the peasants from the villages surrounding Gorki, where Lenin died, accompanied their friend and teacher on his last journey to Moscow. The workers of Moscow took their last leave of Lenin. For five days and nights a continuous stream of people flowed through the Column Hall of the House of Trade Unions, where Lenin lay in state. Millions of working people waited their turn to bid their leader a last farewell.

Stalin's Vow. On the death of our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin, in the name of the Party and of the whole Soviet people, took a great vow to carry out Lenin's behests.

At the Second Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. on January 26, 1924, Comrade Stalin said:

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to hold high and guard the purity of the great title of member of the Party. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfil your behest with credit! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to guard the unity of our Party as the apple of our eye. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest too, we will fulfil with credit! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to guard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will spare no efforts to fulfil this behest too, with credit! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to strengthen with all our might the alliance of the workers and the peasants. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest too, we will fulfil with credit! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to consolidate and extend the Union of Republics. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we will fulfil with credit! . . .

"More than once did Lenin point out to us that the strengthening of the Red Army and the improvement of its condition is one of the most important tasks of our Party. . . . Let us vow then, comrades, that we will spare no effort to strengthen our Red Army and our Red Navy. . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to remain faithful to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and

Громадне, модерне, усвідомлене
Україна, нашею землею, нашею боротьбою
Возникає в подіуманні боротьби, в непримиримості з буржуазією, — во
Україні.

Сприйміть нову міру, новий
зор, нову худобу — во Україні
Художа не одесорбентілістів із
манкою боротьби, who us mankoю етні-
чної боротьби, — і твою організацію
запроект залежіт Україна.

J. Stalin

Remember, love and study Lenin, our teacher and leader.
Fight and vanquish the enemies, internal and foreign—as Lenin taught us.
Build the new life, the new existence, the new culture—as Lenin taught us.
Never refuse to do the little things, for from little things are built the
big things—this is one of Lenin's important behests.

J. STALIN

Facsimile of the Letter J. V. Stalin Wrote to *Rabochaya Gazeta*
Urging the Need to Study Leninism

"War Communism" that persisted in some parts of the rural districts, the kulaks tried to organize revolts.

The elections to the Soviets which took place at this time revealed that in a number of districts the middle peasants were inclined to swing over to the side of the kulaks. Comrade Stalin set the task of rallying the middle peasants around the proletariat and of enlisting the masses of the peasants in the work of building up the Soviets. At a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Party held on October 26, 1924, he said: "All those who are active, honest, possess initiative and are politically conscious, especially former Red Army men, who are politically the most conscious and possess most initiative among the peasants, must be drawn into the work of the Soviets."

The Soviets are bodies which establish a bond between the working class and peasantry, with the proletariat playing the leading role. Hence, enlivening and strengthening the Soviets meant strengthening the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry in the joint struggle for Socialism.

Strengthening the Alliance Between the Proletariat of the U.S.S.R. and the Peasants of the Non-Russian Republics. After the U.S.S.R. was formed, the Russian proletariat increased its assistance to the peoples of the U.S.S.R., and thereby strengthened its alliance with the peasants in the non-Russian regions. The task of uniting the peoples in a single, fraternal union of state was hindered by three factors, *viz.*, the actual inequality existing between the different nationalities, the dominant-nation chauvinism of a section of the Russian Communists, and local nationalism. The Tenth and Twelfth Congresses of the Party, after hearing reports by Comrade Stalin, adopted a program of measures for combating the still existing actual inequality between the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Under the New Economic Policy there was a revival and growth of dominant-nation chauvinism, a reflection of the former privileged position of the Great-Russians. This chauvinism found expression in the neglect shown by certain Soviet and Party officials towards the needs and requirements of the non-Russian republics, and threatened to undermine the confidence of the peasant masses of the non-Russian areas in the U.S.S.R. towards the proletariat, which was exercising its dictatorship.

At the same time, there was a revival of local nationalism among the peoples who had not yet forgotten the national oppression they had suffered from Russian tsarism and the Russian bourgeoisie. The local nationalists sowed distrust in everything Russian, and tried to disrupt the alliance between the peasants of the non-Russian republics and the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. which was leading the struggle for Socialism in all the Soviet Republics.

In June 1923, the Central Committee of the Party held a joint

S.S.R., of which it had till then been a part, as an autonomous republic. Two autonomous Soviet Republics were also formed, namely, the Kirghiz and the Kara-Kalpak Republics. The part of Northeastern Turkestan inhabited by Kazaks was incorporated in Kazakhstan. In the autumn of 1924, the Congresses of Soviets of Bokhara and Khiva resolved to rename their People's Republics, Socialist Republics. The Second Session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. ratified the decision of the peoples of Central Asia regarding national delimitation. The Uzbek and Turkmen Republics joined the U.S.S.R. as Union Republics.

In an estimation of the importance of national delimitation, Comrade Stalin wrote: "The time has now come when these scattered fragments can be *reunited* into independent states, so that the toiling masses of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan can be united and welded with the organs of government. The delimitation of frontiers in Turkestan is primarily the *reunion* of the scattered parts of these countries into independent states. The fact that these states then desired to join the Soviet Union as equal members thereof, merely signifies that the Bolsheviks have found the key to the profound aspirations of the masses of the East, and that the Soviet Union is the only voluntary union of the toiling masses of various nationalities in the world" (J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Moscow, 1940, pp. 182-183).

Thus, for the first time in their history, the Uzbek, Turkmen and Tajik peoples were able to unite in their national states. This they did on the basis of Soviet power, which is cherished and understood by the masses. National delimitation strengthened the alliance between the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. and the toiling peasantry of Central Asia and stimulated the economic and cultural development of the peoples of Soviet Central Asia.

Chapter XIV

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION (1926-1929)

57. STEERING A COURSE FOR INDUSTRIALIZATION

The Soviet Republic's International Position Is Strengthened. After the prolonged post-war revolutionary crisis, world capitalism entered a phase of temporary, partial stabilization. As a result of the defeat of the revolutionary movement in 1923, counter-revolutionary *coupes* were carried out in Germany, Italy, Bulgaria and Po-

needed to build complete socialist society; the working class, which had established its political dictatorship and had converted the land, factories, mills, banks and means of communication into public property, could now further socialist construction and, relying on its alliance with the peasantry, economically rout capitalism within the country.

But there was also an international aspect to the question of the victory of Socialism. For the time being the U.S.S.R. was the only socialist country in the world; it still existed in a capitalist encirclement, and this was fraught with the danger of capitalist intervention. Complete guarantees against intervention could be provided only by the victory of Socialism on an international scale. Hence, the final victory of Socialism, meaning that it was guaranteed against intervention, was possible only if the proletarian revolution was victorious in a number of countries. If the world revolution was delayed, the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. could overcome the economic and technical backwardness of the country and ensure its independence only by its own internal forces and resources, by creating the industrial basis for Socialism and reconstructing the national economy on socialist lines.

The Fourteenth Conference of the Party emphatically condemned Trotsky's theory that the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. was impossible, and called upon the working class to work with the utmost strain to ensure this victory. In May 1925, Comrade Stalin delivered a report in which, summing up the proceedings of this conference, he substantiated and amplified Lenin's teachings regarding the possibility of the victory of Socialism, and formulated the program for the building of Socialism in the following few words: "We need from fifteen to twenty million industrial proletarians; we need the electrification of the principal regions of our country; we need the organization of agriculture on a co-operative basis; we need a highly developed metal industry. Then we need fear no danger. Then we shall be victorious on an international scale" (*Lenin and Stalin, Selected Works*, Vol. III, Russ. ed., p. 27).

The decisions of the Fourteenth Party Conference served as the basis for the proceedings of the Third All-Union Congress of Soviets which opened on May 13, 1925. The congress discussed the following reports: the state of industry; measures to raise and strengthen peasant farming; agricultural co-operative societies; building up the Soviets, and the Red Army. The congress passed a series of measures to improve the work of the Soviets. It also ratified the admission into the U.S.S.R. of the two new Union Republics—the Turkmen S.S.R. and the Uzbek S.S.R. and in doing so emphasized that "the entry of the afore-mentioned republics into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is fresh proof that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

In his report to the congress, Comrade Stalin set the Party the immediate task of transforming our country from an agrarian into an industrial state. The congress approved of the leader's proposal and it resolved: "To ensure for the U.S.S.R. economic independence, which will safeguard the U.S.S.R. against becoming an appendage of capitalist world economy, and for this purpose to steer a course towards the industrialization of the country, the development of the production of means of production. . . ."

The Fourteenth Party Congress has gone into the history of the Party and of our country as the Industrialization Congress. In view of the formation of the U.S.S.R. the congress decided to rename the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

In deciding firmly to steer a course towards industrialization, the congress denounced the bourgeois views of the so-called "new opposition" which sought to drag the Party and the working class back to the path of restoring capitalism. The Zinovievites had secured election as delegates to the congress by downright fraud (at the Party Conference in Leningrad that was held before the congress, they hypocritically voted for the Party line). The congress decided to send to Leningrad a group of its delegates, consisting of Comrades Molotov, Kirov, Voroshilov, Kalinin, Andreyev and others, to explain to the members of the Leningrad Party organization the duplicity which had been practised by their delegates at the Party Congress.

An Extraordinary Conference of the Leningrad Party organization unanimously condemned the hypocritical Zinovievites and elected a new Regional Committee of the Party, headed by S. M. Kirov, under whose leadership the Leningrad Bolsheviks launched a struggle for socialist industrialization.

58. THE DIFFICULTIES AND SUCCESSES OF SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

The U.S.S.R. Becomes an Industrial Country. During the period of restoration the task had been to put agriculture on its feet and to restore the existing mills and factories. But these were old enterprises equipped with obsolete machinery. The task now was to re-equip these old plants with up-to-date machinery.

During the period of restoration it was mainly light industry that was developed. The task now was to expand and strengthen heavy industry, without which neither light industry nor agriculture could grow. It was necessary to build a number of new plants and to create new branches of industry that had not existed at all in tsarist Russia, i.e., to build plants for the manufacture of machines, machine tools, automobiles, chemicals, aircraft and tractors, a new defence

Plant in the Urals was started. In the beginning of December 1925, the Shatura district power plant near Moscow, the largest peat-fuel power plant in the world, was opened. During the May Day festival in 1926, two large hydroelectric power stations were opened, one in Tashkent and one in Erevan.

In July 1926, traffic was started on the first electric railway in the U.S.S.R., that connecting Baku with the oil fields and the township of Sabunchi; and the foundation stone was officially laid of the Stalingrad Tractor Plant.

The enormous increase, under the leadership of the Party, in the activities and constructive initiative of the masses resulted in rapid economic successes. In September 1926, the output of Soviet industry for the first time exceeded the pre-war level. Beginning with the new economic year of 1926-1927, the industries of the U.S.S.R. produced more than in tsarist Russia at the peak of her economic development, *viz.*, in 1913. Agricultural output and the national income of the Land of Soviets reached the pre-war level.

When the first decade of the existence of the Soviet State was reached the results of socialist industrialization were already palpable. Over a billion rubles had been invested in capital construction and a number of new large plants had been put into operation. The building of new giants of socialist industry was commenced. In December 1926, the Volkhov Electric Power Plant, the first-born of Soviet electrification, was officially opened. The building of this plant was begun on Lenin's proposal as far back as 1918. In 1927, the Transcaucasian district hydroelectric plant, which provided power for Tbilisi, the capital of Soviet Georgia, was opened, the Red Putilov Plant turned out its first twenty-one tractors, and the AMO Automobile Plant (now the Stalin Plant) in Moscow turned out its first ten motor trucks. In the same year the construction was begun of the Turkeib Railway which, running through the waterless desert of Kazakhstan, was to unite Siberia with Central Asia. Thus, all over the country intense work was in progress in building new factories, mills, mines, power stations and railways.

The proportion of industry to the entire national economy rose to 42 per cent and reached the pre-war level. Still more rapid was the growth of large-scale socialist industry, the output of which was 18 per cent higher than the preceding year. This was a record increase, such as the large-scale industry of the most advanced capitalist countries never reached even in the period of their highest development.

The jubilee session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. held on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the victory of the October Revolution took a decision to introduce a 7-hour day in industry.



J. V. Stalin, S. M. Kirov and N. M. Shvernik in Leningrad in 1926

trade agreement, the Soviet government stopped sending new orders for goods to England. Chamberlain broke off diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. in the expectation that this would be followed by a rupture of relations between other capitalist countries and the U.S.S.R., and the isolation of the latter.

In answer to this act of war provocation and attempt to institute an economic blockade against the U.S.S.R., the workers appealed to the Soviet government to issue a loan. The first Industrialization Loan in the sum of 200,000,000 rubles, was subscribed in a very short space of time.

ing class demonstrated its readiness to defend its socialist homeland. In the capitalist countries of Europe mass demonstrations and meetings of working people were also held to protest against the threatening intervention.

While exposing the hostile designs of the imperialists, the Soviet government firmly pursued a peace policy and strove to improve relations with a number of capitalist countries. In the autumn of 1927, a trade agreement was concluded with Latvia, a treaty of neutrality and a trade agreement were concluded with Iran, and a convention permitting Japanese to fish in Soviet waters, and several concession-agreements were concluded with Japan. The economic ties between the U.S.S.R. and capitalist countries were strengthened in 1927.

Amid continuous acts of provocation and threats of war, the Soviet government remained calm and determined to fight for the cause of peace to the end.

59. THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Steering a Course Towards the Collectivization of Agriculture. The Tenth Anniversary of the existence of the proletarian dictatorship was marked by the achievement of considerable success in the socialist industrialization of the country; but agriculture, and grain farming in particular, still lagged very much behind. Individual peasant farming could not achieve high productivity as it was unable to employ machines, fertilizers and the achievements of science and technique.

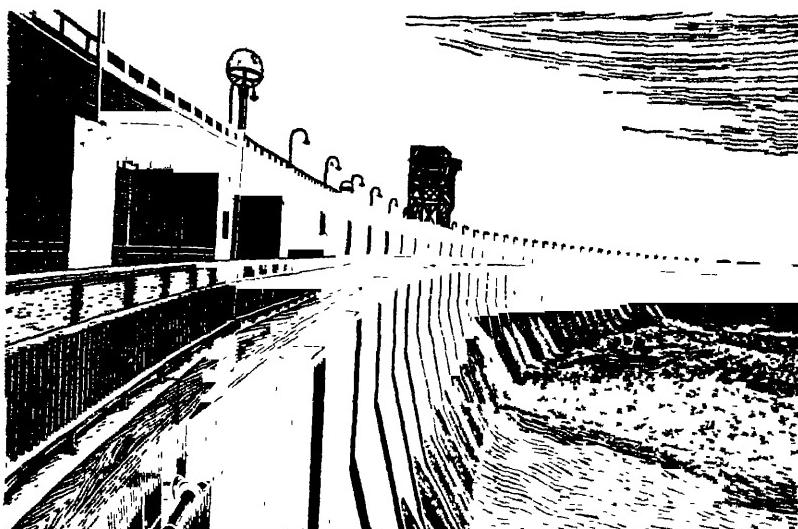
The raising of the entire national economy of the U.S.S.R. was hindered by the scattered character and backwardness of agriculture. The amount of grain available for the market was lower than before the war, the landlords, the former big suppliers of grain, having been liquidated. The breakup of peasant farms into small farms which began in 1918, continued through all the years of the revolution. The small peasant farms became hardly more than self-supplying. Although the output of grain in 1927 was almost on the level of 1913, the amount of grain that reached the market was only a third of the pre-war quantity of marketable grain. The kulaks, whom the Soviet government was restricting and dislodging, sold only 2,080,000 tons of grain as against 10,400,000 tons which they sold before the revolution. In 1927, the collective farms and state farms placed only about 560,000 tons of grain on the market. The grain problem facing the national economy was one of the utmost acuteness. To solve this problem it was necessary to eliminate the backwardness of agriculture, to supply it with machines and organize it on the basis of large-scale production; but this could be done only on the basis of the collective cultivation of the soil.

Party organizations and all the workers to learn the lesson of the Shakhty case and to develop self-criticism on a wide scale in order to reveal the deficiencies in the work of economic and Soviet bodies and organizations. At the same time Comrade Stalin pointed out that Bolshevik business executives must themselves become experts in matters of production so that wreckers from among the old bourgeois specialists should not be able to deceive them. The Party and the Soviet government took measures to improve the training of young specialists, and thousands of capable and devoted men and women from the ranks of the working class were sent to study.

The Party's offensive against the kulaks evoked the open defiance of them by the Bukharin-Rykov group. The Bukharinites demanded the repeal of the emergency laws against the kulaks and most strongly opposed the course taken by the Party aimed at the collectivization of the countryside.

They also opposed industrialization, and the creation of heavy industry in particular, and demanded that the funds assigned for heavy industry should be transferred to light industry.

The Party sternly rebuffed the Rights and denounced them as agents of the kulaks in the Party. Comrade Stalin said: ". . . The triumph of the Right deviation in our Party would unleash the forces of capitalism, undermine the revolutionary positions of the pro-



The dam of the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Plant

had concealed just below the surface of the ground enormous deposits of high-grade ore which could now be utilized by the vast new Soviet plant. In the Donetz Basin work was commenced on the erection of the Kramatorsk and Gorlovka Steel Plants, and on the reconstruction of the Lugansk Locomotive Works. New collieries were opened and new blast furnaces were erected. The Urals Machine-Building Works and the Berezniki and Solikamsk Chemical Works were under construction; work was developed on the erection of large automobile plants in Moscow and Gorky and of gigantic tractor plants and harvester-combine plants in the Volga Region and in the Ukraine. In the course of eleven months a huge tractor plant rose up in the steppe near Stalingrad. In building the Dnieper Power Station and the Stalingrad Tractor Works the workers beat world records in productivity of labour. The enormous scope of the new industrial construction, and the heroism displayed by the millions of the working class, were without parallel in human history.

The work of building up heavy industry was directed by the veteran Bolshevik and pupil of Lenin and Stalin, G. K. Orjonikidze (1886-1937). During the Civil War, Sergo Orjonikidze was one of the creators and organizers of the Red Army, and during the years of the upbuilding of Socialism he became one of the greatest organizers of victory on the front of socialist construction. His uncompromising hostility towards all the enemies of Socialism, his strict adherence to principle and pursuit of lofty ideals, his straightforwardness and sterling honesty and his cordial, plain and solicitous attitude towards people, won for him the profound love and respect of all working people. The First Five-Year Plan and its execution cannot be separated from the enormous work performed by Sergo Orjonikidze, whom the workers and business executives called the "commander-in-chief of heavy industry."

The wave of labour enthusiasm among the masses of the workers was followed by a wave of enthusiasm in the building of collective farms. An important part in swinging the masses of the peasants over to collective farming was played by the state farms and the machine and tractor stations.

In the spring of 1929, the Council of Labour and Defence adopted a decision to set up machine and tractor stations on a mass scale and vigorous measures were taken to carry out this decision. Peasants came to the state farms and machine and tractor stations, and after seeing the tractors at work asked for assistance in uniting in collective farms so as to be able to cultivate the soil with the aid of up-to-date machinery. This started the mass collective-farm movement.

Whereas in 1928, the area cultivated by collective farms amounted to 1,390,000 hectares, in 1929, it amounted to 4,262,000 hectares. That year the state farms and collective farms produced over 6,400,000

U.S.S.R.—LAND OF SOCIALISM

Chapter XVI

THE U.S.S.R. IN THE PERIOD OF THE STRUGGLE TO COLLECTIVIZE AGRICULTURE (1930-1934)

60. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SOCIALIST REORGANIZATION OF PEASANT FARMING

Further Provocation of War. The successes achieved in socialist industrialization facilitated the Soviet government's struggle for peace and against new acts of war provocation. The fact that the capitalist countries which encircled the Soviet Union continued actively to prepare for war against the Land of Socialism made it urgently necessary still further to develop large-scale industry and to strengthen the military might and defensive capacity of the U.S.S.R.

In 1929 an acute world economic crisis broke out, as a result of which 24,000,000 workers were thrown out of work. The industrial crisis was interwoven with an agrarian crisis, which gravely affected tens of millions of peasants. The bourgeoisie sought a way out of the crisis by suppressing the working class, on the one hand, and by driving towards another imperialist war for the redivision of the world, on the other.

Again the bourgeois press all over the world raised a howl that "Bolshevism is the enemy of civilization." The columns of the venal newspapers were filled with scurrilous legends about "Soviet dumping," and "forced labour in the U.S.S.R." The Pope proclaimed another "crusade" against the Soviet Union. The imperialists again tried to organize an economic boycott of the proletarian state. The governments of the United States, France, and Rumania passed laws imposing a ban on imports from the Soviet Union. A new series of provocative anti-Soviet acts was perpetrated, one of the gravest of which was the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway, organized by the counter-revolutionary groups in Manchuria in obedience to the orders of the imperialist countries. On July 10, 1929, Whiteguard Chinese forces seized the Chinese Eastern Railway, and shelled and machine-gunned Soviet frontier villages. The Soviet government called

The watchword concerning the elimination of the kulaks as a class on the basis of solid collectivization, was issued by Comrade Stalin on December 27, 1929, and incorporated in a special resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) dated January 5, 1930, entitled: "The Rate of Collectivization and State Measures to Assist the Development of Collective Farms." Taking into account the different degrees of ripeness for collectivization in the various regions, this resolution provided for three groups of regions to carry through collectivization at different speeds. The first group included the most important grain regions—North Caucasus and the Middle and Lower Volga Regions—where the largest number of tractors were available, where there were the largest number of state farms, and where most experience had been gained in fighting the kulaks. This group was to complete the process of collectivization in the spring of 1931. The second group, which included the grain regions of the Ukraine, the Central Black-Earth Region, Siberia, the Urals and Kazakhstan, was to complete the process of collectivization in the spring of 1932. For the other regions—the Moscow Region, Transcaucasia, Central Asia and others, the completion of the process of collectivization was put off until 1933, i.e., to the end of the Five-Year Plan period. On the basis of this resolution the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., in February 1930, adopted a decision to prohibit the employment of hired labour in individual peasant farms and to grant the local Soviets in the districts where solid collectivization had been accomplished the right to take all measures necessary to combat the kulaks, including that of confiscating kulak lands and of deporting the kulaks from the given districts.

In a decision it adopted on January 5, 1930, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) laid it down that the main type of collective farm to be established was to be the agricultural artel, in which the principal means of production are collectivized.

At the same time the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) deemed it necessary to accelerate the erection of plants for the manufacture of tractors, harvester combines and other agricultural machinery required for large-scale farming. To cover expenditure on surveying of the land and on other farm measures, the government, in 1929-1930, advanced the collective farms credits to the amount of 500,000,000 rubles. The kulaks were expropriated in the same way as the capitalist in industry had been expropriated in 1918, but the means of production owned by the kulaks passed not to the state, but to the collective farms. This was a most profound revolution.

"The distinguishing feature of this revolution is that it was accomplished *from above*, on the initiative of the state, and directly supported *from below* by the millions of peasants, who were fighting to throw off kulak bondage and to live in freedom in the collective farm..

line in collective-farm development and the importance of the collective farms for the working peasantry. He emphasized that the establishment of collective farms must be on a purely voluntary basis, and reminded his readers that the main link in the collective-farm movement was the agricultural artel. After this, the peasants who had left the collective farms as a result of the pigheaded distortions of the Party line began to join them again.

The Successes of the Socialist Offensive. On June 26, 1930, the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B) was opened. This congress has gone into history as the congress of the sweeping offensive of Socialism along the whole front. In the preceding stages of the struggle for Socialism the Party had conducted the socialist offensive on separate sectors (trade, industry, collective-farm development). Now a general socialist offensive was launched for the purpose of tearing up the very deepest-grown roots of capitalism. As the resolution of the Sixteenth Party Congress stated: "The task set by Lenin of converting 'NEP Russia' into 'Socialist Russia' is being carried out."

The Sixteenth Party Congress summed up the first results of the socialist offensive. Industry had reached a level nearly twice as high as the pre-war level. For the first time in the history of our country industrial output constituted more than half and agricultural output less than half of the total output of the country. The collectivization plan was overfulfilled. On May 1, 1930, collectivization in the principal grain regions already embraced 40 to 50 per cent of the peasant farms and the total sown area of the collective farms amounted to 36,000,000 hectares. During the three years the amount of produce available for the market from collective farms increased more than 40-fold.

The collective-farm peasantry had been converted into a genuine and firm bulwark of the Soviet State. The U.S.S.R. had entered the period of Socialism, Socialism had triumphed not only in industry but also in agriculture.

The successes of the socialist offensive were achieved in a struggle against the furious resistance of the moribund classes. In their struggle against the collective farms the kulaks resorted to new tactics in the effort to disrupt the collective farms from within. They wormed their way into the collective farms, some even got themselves elected to the management boards, or obtained jobs as business managers, team leaders, bookkeepers, stablemen, etc. Employing the tactics of "quiet sapping" they tried to undermine labour discipline in the collective farms, spoiled tractors and agricultural machinery, infected the horses with glanders, mange and other diseases, pilfered the collective-farm crops and so forth. By these means they wanted to frighten the peasants and undermine their confidence in the collective farms.

But the best of the collective farmers staunchly defended the cause

ment. After the victory of the October Revolution, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov—faithful disciple of Lenin, and Stalin's close collaborator—became one of the foremost organizers and builders of the Soviet State. He was unswerving and uncompromising in carrying out the Leninist political line, strengthening the Soviet State and ensuring the successful building of Socialism.

The Five-Year Plan in Four Years. The next task that faced the Party and the Soviet State after heavy industry, and the machine-building industry in particular, had been built up, was to reorganize all branches of the national economy on the basis of new, up-to-date equipment. Technique acquired decisive importance, but many business executives underrated its role in the period of reconstruction and did not concern themselves with problems of the technique of production as they regarded this as the business of the experts.

In a speech he delivered at the First All-Union Conference of Managers of Socialist Industry in February 1931, Comrade Stalin condemned this pernicious underrating of technique. "We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries," he said. "We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or they will crush us" (*J. Stalin, Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1947, p. 356). He went on to say that the Bolsheviks must master technique, that in the period of reconstruction technique decides everything. In answer to the objection that it was difficult to master technique, Comrade Stalin said: "There are no fortresses which Bolsheviks cannot capture."

Following Comrade Stalin's advice, the Party and the working class began to promote and train new, Soviet experts. Gradually a new, Soviet industrial-technical intelligentsia came into being, drawn from the ranks of the working class and the peasantry, an intelligentsia that was vitally interested in achieving success in socialist construction.

The First Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy was to have been carried out in the period from 1928 to 1933, but the workers advanced the watchword: "The Five-Year Plan in Four Years." The workers in the factories and the peasants in the collective farms examined the possibilities of speeding up the fulfilment of their plans, of cutting down expenditure and of increasing productivity of labour. Factory challenged factory, work team challenged work team, and workers challenged one another individually, to engage in socialist emulation. Teams and individuals undertook to work like shock workers. The first "shock brigades" came from the ranks of the Young Communist League. The workers and collective farmers began to work in a new way and steadily increased the productivity of labour.

An enormous role in placing the whole of economic activity on a new footing was played by the six conditions for success in industry

blooming mill was built at the Izhevsk Plant, and the Red Putilov Works completed its five-year tractor program in three years. The AMO (now the Stalin) Automobile Plant, built on the site of the old automobile assembly workshops, started production, and the erection of the Gorky Automobile Plant was also completed. In that year the harvester-combine plant in Saratov also started production.

A new iron and steel centre had sprung up in the eastern part of the Land of Soviets. The first mine was already in operation at Mt. Magnitnaya, preparations were being made to start new blast furnaces, and the socialist city of Magnitogorsk was rapidly taking shape and growing. The first section of the huge Kuznetsk Iron and Steel Plant began to operate.

New large-scale building projects were put into operation, such as the White Sea-Baltic Sea Canal in Karelia, and in Moscow plans were being drawn up for the construction of an underground railway.

The "third decisive year" also witnessed an unprecedented growth of the collective farms. In the principal grain regions, the collective farms already united four-fifths, and in the other grain regions more than half, of the peasant farms; 200,000 collective farms and 4,000 state farms sowed two-thirds of the total sown area in the country. The number of tractors in operation in 1931 rose to 125,000. The collective farms and state farms became the principal producers of grain and agricultural raw materials. This was an enormous victory for Socialism in the rural districts.

The fourth year of the Five-Year Plan was called the "fourth, culminating year." It gave an unprecedented impetus to socialist emulation. In May 1932, Nikita Izotov, a coal hewer at Gorlovka, having mastered to perfection the technique of coal production, fulfilled his plan 10-fold. Izotov shared his experience with the best miners in the Donetz Basin and soon the Izotov movement spread over the whole country.

In the "fourth, culminating year" the gigantic Dnieper Power Plant project was completed and in October of that year, 1932, the entire country celebrated the birth of this giant first-born of the Five-Year Plan.

In 1932, vigorous construction work was carried on in the remote taiga, on the banks of the river Amur. Here came many thousands of Young Communist Leaguers who, under the most difficult conditions, set to work with tremendous enthusiasm to build a shipyard and a new socialist city that was named Komsomolsk (Young Communist League City).

Thus, enthusiastic, intense and tireless building activities were proceeding all over the country. During the years of the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan 2,400 new plants were built. A number of extremely important branches of industry that were created, such as tractor

stan, and in the remote northern regions—factories, mills, power plants, machine and tractor stations and state farms arose.

The victory of the First Five-Year Plan was a world-historic victory of the working class and peasantry of the U.S.S.R., a victory which signified their liberation from the yoke of exploitation and opened for all the working people of the U.S.S.R. the road to a life of happiness and prosperity.

The victory of Stalin's Five-Year Plan showed the superiority of the socialist economic system.

As Comrade Stalin said in his report to the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U.(B.) that was held in January 1933:

"The results of the Five-Year Plan have shown that it is quite possible to build a Socialist society in one country; for the economic foundations of such a society have already been laid in the U.S.S.R." (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1947, p. 426).

In summing up the international significance of the Five-Year Plan, Comrade Stalin said that the plan was not the private affair of the Soviet Union but the affair of the entire international proletariat, that "*the successes of the Five-Year Plan are mobilizing the revolutionary forces of the working class of all countries against capitalism*" (*Ibid.*, p. 397).

In January 1934, the Seventeenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party was held. This congress summed up the results of the historic victory of Socialism in our country.

As early as 1918, and later, when the New Economic Policy was introduced, Lenin pointed out that there were the elements of five social-economic formations in our country. These were: 1) patriarchal economy; 2) small-commodity production, 3) private capitalism; 4) state capitalism; and 5) the socialist formation.



S. M. KIROV

Chapter XVI

THE STRUGGLE TO COMPLETE THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM THE STALIN CONSTITUTION

61. THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

Beginning of the Second World War and the U.S.S.R.'s Peace Policy. From the end of 1933 to the latter half of 1937, the capitalist countries were in a state of economic depression. In the latter half of 1937, a new economic crisis broke out, first in the United States and then in Great Britain, France and other countries.

This new crisis broke out at a time when the Second World War had in fact commenced. In 1935, Italy attacked Abyssinia without declaring war upon her and annexed that country. In the summer of 1936, the imperialists organized military intervention in Spain. In 1937, Japan, after seizing Manchuria, invaded North and Central China. In 1938, Germany annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia. Europe, Africa and Asia were being forcibly changed. The entire system of the post-war, so-called Versailles, peace settlement, was shaken.

The new economic crisis led to the further intensification of the struggle among the imperialist powers. The question of making a new redvision of the world, of spheres of influence and colonies, was now being settled by war. Japan justified her aggressive action on the ground that when the Nine-Power Pact was concluded in 1922, she was not allowed to enlarge her territories at the expense of China. Italy demanded that the losses she had sustained in the First World War should be made up out of the colonial acquisitions of Great Britain and France. Hitler Germany, on the pretext of wanting to regain the colonies she had lost by the Treaty of Versailles and of acquiring territories inhabited by Germans, was openly preparing for a war to establish her world domination. All the capitalist countries, big and small, began feverishly to arm and prepare to take part in a new world war.

The Soviet Union was the only country that undeviatingly upheld the cause of peace. But while pursuing its peace policy, the Land of Soviets strengthened to the utmost its defensive capacity and its international position. At the end of 1934, at the request of thirty-four countries, the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations in the endeavour to utilize even this feeble organization as a means of hindering the unleashing of war.

With the object of maintaining peace, the Soviet government concluded a series of pacts for mutual assistance in the event of aggres-

In the U.S.S.R. the building of Socialism was successfully nearing completion. Operations were begun by new industrial giants like the Krivoi Rog Steel Plant and the Stalin Machine-Building Plant in Kramatorsk, the first section of the Moscow subway, and the Moscow-Volga Canal, 128 kilometres long, which connected the Soviet capital with the Volga.

In industry the Second Five-Year Plan was completed by April 1, 1937, that is to say, in four years and three months. With the execution of the First Five-Year Plan the U.S.S.R. had already outstripped France in volume of industrial production. After executing the Second Five-Year Plan it outstripped Great Britain and Germany, and remained second only to the United States. In 1936, the Dnieper Power Plant alone produced more electric power than all the power stations in tsarist Russia put together. The Magnitogorsk plant smelted two and a half times as much pig iron as did all the blast furnaces in Poland. Exceptionally rapid during the Second Five-Year Plan period was the growth of industry in the non-Russian national Soviet Republics. The effect of the wise and farsighted policy pursued by the Party of Lenin and Stalin was that a new centre of heavy industry, coal and oil production, new centres of the machine-building and defence industries, were created in the Eastern regions of the Land of Soviets, out of the range of the enemy.

The main task of the Second Five-Year Plan, namely, to complete the technical reconstruction of the whole of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., was accomplished. The machine-building industry increased its output almost 3-fold. In 1913, the output of machinery in tsarist Russia was only one-tenth of the amount produced in Great Britain, one-eighteenth of that produced in Germany and one-twenty-third of that produced in the United States. At the end of the Second Five-Year Plan period the United States was the only country with an output of twice the amount of machinery produced in the U.S.S.R.

As regards the production of electric power, the U.S.S.R. moved up from fifteenth to second place in Europe, and to third place in the world. In output of tractors the U.S.S.R. reached first place in Europe, and in output of harvester combines it reached first place in the world.

During the period of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans the transport system of the Soviet Union was entirely reconstructed. The production of locomotives, of the most up-to-date types, increased 4-fold compared with 1913. The output of automobiles increased 8-fold in five years. In 1932, the Stalin (formerly AMO) plant turned out 50 cars a day; in 1937, it turned out 205 a day. The number of motor buses in the streets of Moscow and other towns increased and trolley buses were introduced. In 1935, after the heroic Arctic voyages of the icebreaker

of output, to raise productivity of labour to a higher level. In honour of its initiator, this movement is known as the Stakhanov movement.

Stakhanov's example was followed by workers in other branches of industry, for example, by drop-hammer man Busygina at the Gorky Automobile Plant, the locomotive driver Krivonos in the Donets Basin, the weavers Vinogradova at the Vichuga Textile Mills, and by many others.

At the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites that was held in the Kremlin, Moscow, in November 1935, Comrade Stalin showed that the Stakhanov movement had sprung up on the basis of the successes achieved by Socialism in our country. It bore within itself, he said, the rudiments of the transition from Socialism to Communism, and of the elimination of the distinction between physical and mental labour, and it marked the beginning of a tremendous cultural and technical development of the working class. "The basis for the Stakhanov movement," he said, "was first and foremost the radical improvement in the material welfare of the workers. Life has improved, comrades. Life has become more joyous. And when life is joyous, work goes well. Hence the high rates of output. Hence the heroes and heroines of labour" (*J. Stalin, Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1947, pp. 531-532). Comrade Stalin called the Stakhanovites innovators in our industry.

The Stakhanov movement spread all over the country, first in the towns and then in the rural districts.

In the period of the Second Five-Year Plan the collective-farm system became fully consolidated. Of exceptional importance for the development and prosperity of the collective farms were the rules for agricultural artels drawn up under Comrade Stalin's direction and adopted at the Second Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Workers held in February 1935. Another extremely important factor was the securing to the collective farms in perpetuity of the land they occupied. Basing their activities on the rules promoted by Stalin, the collective farms made rapid progress towards a prosperous and cultured existence.

In the winter of 1935-36 a series of conferences was held of outstanding workers in the various branches of agriculture and leading members of the Party and of the government. These conferences revealed what splendid people the collective-farm system had produced. The conferences showed the whole country the new heroines of labour produced by the collective-farm system, such splendid women as Maria Demchenko, Pasha Angelina, and many others.

Liquidation of the Remnants of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite Spies, Wreckers and Traitors. In their preparation for war against the U.S.S.R. the imperialist governments utilized the services of those traitors to their country, the Trotskyites and Bukharinites.

On December 5, 1936, the Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets adopted the first Constitution of victorious Socialism in history.

In his report on the draft Constitution, Comrade Stalin summed up the magnificent results achieved in the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. During the preceding twelve years (from 1924 when the first Constitution was adopted, to 1936) immense changes had taken place in the economy and class structure of society, he said. The socialist system had fully triumphed, the exploiting classes had been liquidated. The landlord class and the big imperialist bourgeoisie had already been utterly routed during the Civil War. During the period of socialist construction, all the exploiting elements—capitalists, merchants, kulaks, and profiteers—were liquidated.

Under the Soviet system the workers, peasants and intelligentsia had undergone a profound change. The working class had ceased to be a proletariat in the strict sense of the term, i.e., had ceased to be an exploited class. It has been converted into a new working class, a class which had abolished the capitalist economic system and had established the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production. An entirely new peasantry, a collective-farm peasantry, had grown up in the U.S.S.R., for collective farming was based not on private, but on socialist property, the product of collective labour.

The intelligentsia in the U.S.S.R. had also undergone a radical change. Having sprung in the main from the ranks of the workers and peasants they had become active builders of socialist society.

As regards the different nationalities in the U.S.S.R. Comrade Stalin said: "... their feeling of mutual distrust has disappeared, a feeling of mutual friendship has developed among them, and thus real fraternal co-operation among the peoples has been established within the system of a single federated state" (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1947, p. 547).

Soviet society consists of two friendly classes—the workers and the peasants, between whom there is no antagonism, although some class distinctions still remain between them. The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. recorded the fact that the Soviet Union is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

The political foundation of the U.S.S.R. is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies which grew and became strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The economic foundation of the U.S.S.R. is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the means of production.

The U.S.S.R. is a voluntary, fraternal union of equal nations. Each of the sixteen republics comprising the Union independently

either entirely deprive women of electoral rights, or restrict those rights for women.

In the U.S.S.R. women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of the economic, governmental, cultural and public and political life of the country. The most distinguished daughters of the Soviet people are members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., of the Supreme Soviets of Union and Autonomous Republics, and of local Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Thanks to the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., the dream of the best representatives of human society has come true; everybody is ensured the right to work, to rest and recreation, to education and to maintenance in old age and in the event of disablement.

The Constitution guarantees for the citizens of the U.S.S.R. freedom of speech, press, assembly and meetings, street processions and demonstrations, and safeguards the right of citizens to unite in public organizations (trade unions, co-operative societies, etc., and for the most active and politically conscious citizens the right to unite in the Communist Party).

The Stalin Constitution not only proclaims all the rights of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. (as the Constitutions of bourgeois countries do in relation to the rights of citizens), but also ensures the material conditions for enjoying these rights.

The Soviet system, while guaranteeing great rights to the citizens of the U.S.S.R. imposes upon them a number of lofty and honourable duties. Work in the U.S.S.R. is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen. It is the duty of citizens of the U.S.S.R. to abide by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., observe the laws, maintain labour discipline, honestly perform public duties and respect the rules of socialist intercourse. It is the duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to safeguard and fortify socialist property. It is a duty of honour for citizens of the U.S.S.R. to serve in the ranks of the armed forces of the U.S.S.R.

The Land of Soviets received a new Constitution, the Constitution of victorious Socialism. The adoption of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. caused tremendous rejoicing among the peoples of the Soviet Union.

During the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. which were held on December 12, 1937, the Communist Party put forward candidates in a bloc with non-party people. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) called for votes to be cast for the candidates of this bloc. It was a call addressed to all those who wanted our country to remain mighty, cultured and free, the working people to be free from exploitation forever, our industry to continue to develop and outstrip the capitalist countries, our collective farms and state farms to continue to flourish and provide our country with an abundance of agricultural produce; it was addressed to all who wanted our working

63. THE U.S.S.R. ENTERS THE PHASE OF COMPLETING THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

The Third Five-Year Plan. The Great Stalin Constitution legislatively enacted the world-historical fact that the U.S.S.R. had entered a new phase of development, the phase of the completion of the building of socialist society and of the gradual transition to Communism.

The Stalin Constitution records the main pillars of Socialism as follows: the absence of exploitation of man by man, the conversion of the means of production into socialist property, the fulfilment of the fundamental principle of Socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

In the U.S.S.R., Socialism—the lower phase of Communism—has already been achieved. At this stage the distinctions between town and country and between mental and physical labour have not yet been abolished. Under Socialism, the survivals of capitalism still remain in the minds of men.

The victory of the two Stalin Five-Year Plans created all the conditions for the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism, under which the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will be applied. The productive forces in our country are freed from the fetters of capitalism, the U.S.S.R.'s complete independence of capitalist countries is ensured, the socialist reconstruction of the entire national economy on the basis of new, most up-to-date technique has been completed, the nation-wide Stakhanov movement is steadily raising the productivity of labour, the material and cultural well-being of the entire Soviet people is improving and the borderlines between town and country and between mental and physical labour are gradually being obliterated.

In March 1939, the Eighteenth Congress of the Party was held. In the historic report that he made at this congress, Comrade Stalin said that Communist society could not be built unless the fundamental condition was carried out of overtaking and outstripping the capitalist world not only as regards level of technical development but also economically. As regards the level of technical development the Soviet Union had outstripped the principal capitalist countries; but it still lagged behind them in respect to output per head of the population. As regards pig iron, for example, the U.S.S.R. produced per head of the population less than half of that produced in Great Britain and France, and one-third of that produced in the United States. The electricity generated in our country per head of the population was half that of France, one-third that of Great Britain, two-sevenths that of Germany and one-fifth that of the United States.

Labour and Political Enthusiasm in the Land of Socialism. The decisions that were adopted by the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B) placed in the hands of the working people of our country a powerful weapon for the achievement of further victories and roused them to unprecedented heights of labour and political enthusiasm. Socialist emulation in honour of the Third Stalin Five-Year Plan developed on a wide scale throughout the country. The ranks of the heroes of labour grew with unprecedented rapidity. New names of workers and collective farmers, men and women, of people working in the sphere of culture and technology, science and art, became famous throughout the country and roused thousands to perform new feats of valour. As the popular Soviet song says: "Any one of us can become a hero."

The title of Hero of Socialist Labour was instituted in the U.S.S.R.

The government conferred the title of Hero of Socialist Labour on Comrade Stalin on his sixtieth birthday.

The high title of distinction—Hero of the Soviet Union—was also instituted. The first Heroes of the Soviet Union were the valiant airmen who rescued the passengers of the wrecked *Chelyuskin* from the ice in the Arctic. The rescue of the "Chelyuskinites" was a model of the unexampled heroism and Bolshevik capacity for organization displayed by Soviet people. The roll of Heroes of the Soviet Union was augmented by the names of valiant commanders and men of the Red Army who won fame for themselves and their Soviet Motherland by their unprecedented deeds.

The first women to have the title of Hero of the Soviet Union conferred upon them were those splendid aviators Valentina Grizodubova, Marina Raskova and Paulina Osipenko.

The capitalist encirclement of the U.S.S.R. and the growing war danger arising from the fact that the capitalist countries were "creeping" into the Second World War created the necessity of strengthening the defences of the U.S.S.R., of reinforcing the Red Army, the Red Air Force and the Red Navy.

The people surrounded their army with love and care. In the speech he delivered on the Tenth Anniversary of the Red Army, Comrade Stalin said: "Nowhere in the world do the people treat the army with such love and solicitude as our people do. . . . Our army is the only army in the world that enjoys the sympathy and support of the workers and peasants. Herein lies its power, herein lies its strength" (J. Stalin, *The Three Specific Features of the Red Army*, Moscow, 1940, Russ. ed., p. 5). The men, commanders and political instructors of the Red Army and the Red Navy are the finest sons of the people, selflessly devoted to their great motherland. The army and the navy live in unison with the whole country.

task is fulfilled in the sphere of cultural development, namely, to raise the cultural and technical level of the entire working class to that of the engineer and technician.

Exceptionally great is the role played in the Soviet Union by science, that progressive science which does not divorce itself from the people and which serves the cause of Socialism. Comrade Stalin referred to Papanin and Stakhanov as innovators in science, for they had set examples of how bold practice can be combined with serious scientific research.

In the U.S.S.R. science is closely connected with the practical work of building Socialism. Soviet science helps to build huge hydroelectric power stations, to carry out such gigantic projects as the Moscow-Volga Canal, the White Sea-Baltic Sea Canal, the Moscow Subway, the finest in the world, and others. Soviet designers have designed scores of new types of machines, machine tools and instruments. Exceptionally great are the successes which Soviet scientific and technical thought has achieved in the sphere of aviation. The excellent design and high technical equipment of Soviet aeroplanes, hydroplanes, etc., have enabled Soviet airmen to establish world records.

In July 1936, that great airman of our time, Valeri Pavlovich Chkalov and his comrades performed a tremendous circular flight over the Soviet North and East. In March 1937, an expedition flew to the North Pole. The aircraft which took part in this expedition were flown by our finest aviators, headed by Hero of the Soviet Union Vodopyanov. In May the aircraft landed at the North Pole and left on the ice four valiant Soviet patriots, headed by Papanin. Papanin and his comrades drifted on the ice for 274 days and covered 2,500 kilometres, conducting, under exceptionally difficult conditions, intense scientific research work which enriched world science with new data on the Arctic.

On June 18-19, 1937, our hero aviators Chkalov, Bairukov and Belyakov, in spite of cyclones and ice crust, flew from Moscow to America across the North Pole; and a month later this flight was repeated by Gromov, Yumashev and Danilin, who established a new



I. V. Michurin

achievements in the study of the higher nervous activity of animals. This work was able to assume the dimensions it deserved only under the Soviet system, a whole townlet of laboratories having been built for Pavlov and his assistants in Koltushi, near Leningrad.

In the U.S.S.R. not only scientific experimental work, but also scientific theoretical work is being developed as in no other country in the world. In the U.S.S.R. the great Marxist-Leninist theory has unlimited possibilities for development. The works of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin are published in editions running into millions. Extremely popular among the broad masses of the working people of our country are works on the history of our motherland and of the Bolshevik Party. The year 1938 saw the appearance of Stalin's work, *the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks], Short Course*. This splendid scientific work contains a concise and vivid account of the long and glorious historical road traversed by the Party of Lenin and Stalin and of the fighting experience it gained, as well as an exposition of the foundations of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

In the U.S.S.R. there have been established treasure stores of scientific books that are of world importance. These are the Lenin Library in Moscow, the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library in Leningrad, and others.

Enormous scientific work is being conducted by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and its numerous institutes, and also by such world-important scientific-research institutes as the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, and others.

Socialism created fertile soil for the vigorous growth of the art of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The Great October Socialist Revolution, which emancipated the peoples, gave the broad masses access to all the treasures of culture and art created by mankind.

An enormous contribution to the development of revolutionary literature in the Soviet period was made by the great proletarian



V. V. Mayakovsky

ere *How the Steel Was Tempered* and *Born of the Storm* by Nikolai Ostrovsky, whose life and work were imbued with genuine revolutionary fervour. Although blind and paralyzed as a consequence of the severe wounds he received during the Civil War and the illness he suffered after it, this young Bolshevik writer found the courage and strength to continue to serve the Party and the revolution with his pen until he drew his last breath.

Comrade Stalin described Soviet writers as the "engineers of human souls," and called upon them to produce works that harmonized with the great epoch we are living in. At a congress of writers, Comrade A. A. Zhdanov spoke of the tasks that confronted Soviet writers and said: "To be an engineer of human souls means standing with both feet on the ground of real life. . . . Soviet literature must be able to portray our heroes, must be able to see into our future."

The culture of the Land of Soviets, uniform in its socialist trend and heroic content, and with its rich variety of form, was built up as the sole, socialist culture of all the peoples who inhabit the U.S.S.R. The culture of each people, national in form and socialist in content, develops in close alliance with the culture of all the other peoples of the Union, and primarily with progressive Russian culture. National culture springs from the depths of the people.

The most outstanding and characteristic representative of this culture was the aged popular poet of Kazakhstan, the akyn (bard) Jambul. He began to compose his beautiful songs while still a youth when wandering through the steppes of Kazakhstan; but his art seemed to have faded before he reached the age of fifty. The great proletarian revolution, however, rejuvenated the heart of the seventy-year-old bard.

The proletarian revolution performed the same miracle on the popular ashug (poet) of Daghestan, Suleiman Stalsky. The son of a poor Lezghian peasant, he grew up amidst great privation. His songs were composed in tones of grief and melancholy. When he composed songs that sounded the call to battle the tsarist authorities put a ban upon them. The art of Suleiman Stalsky, this Homer of the 20th century, as Maxim Gorky called him, revived and blossomed forth again



The Daghestan Poet Suleiman Stalsky



V. I. Lenin
Sculpture by Merkurov

J. V. Stalin
Sculpture by Merkurov

he composed before the revolution exceptionally popular is his opera *Leyly and Medjnun*.

One of the creators of Armenian music was the pre-revolution composer Komitas, who skillfully utilized Armenian folklore and exercised considerable influence on the subsequent development of Armenian music. An important part in developing the theatre and music in Armenia under the Soviet system was played by the composer Spondiarov, whose best productions are the opera *Almasti* and his *Erevan Etudes*.

Considerable success was also achieved by the theatre and music in Uzbekistan, where there had been no theatres at all before the revolu-

these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass, directly or indirectly, on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet State.

"3. We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.

"4. We are not afraid of the threats of aggressors, and are ready to deal two blows for every blow delivered by instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet borders" (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1947, pp. 605-6).

Comrade Stalin proposed that this peace policy be continued so as to prevent the provocateurs of war from dragging the U.S.S.R. into a conflict.

Taking into account the growing danger of the outbreak of another world war and the direct menace of an attack upon the U.S.S.R., the Soviet government opened negotiations with the representatives of Great Britain and France for the conclusion of a pact of mutual assistance against fascist aggression in Europe; but these negotiations failed owing to the intrigues of the extreme reactionary circles in those countries who were hostile to the U.S.S.R., and who wanted, by striking a bargain with fascist Germany, to turn the latter's aggression exclusively against the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, the German government offered to conclude a pact of non-aggression with the U.S.S.R. This pact established a basis for ensuring peace between the two biggest states in Europe, the relations between whom had been very strained since the fascists came into power in Germany. It also gave the Soviet Union the opportunity to prepare her forces appropriately for the contingency of fascist Germany attacking her. In view of this, the Soviet government consented to conclude the pact of non-aggression which Germany proposed.

This pact, which was signed in Moscow on August 23, 1939, stated: "The two high contracting parties engage to refrain from all violence, from all aggressive actions, and from any attack upon each other either singly, or in conjunction with other powers."

In the radio address which he delivered on July 3, 1941, Comrade Stalin summed up the historic significance of the pact of non-aggression that was concluded between the Soviet Union and Germany in the following words:

"It may be asked: How could the Soviet government have consented to conclude a non-aggression pact with such perfidious people, and such fiends as Hitler and Ribbentrop? . . . A non-aggression pact is a pact of peace between two states. It was precisely such a pact that Germany proposed to us in 1939. Could the Soviet government decline such a proposal? I think that not a single peace-loving state could decline a peace treaty with a neighbouring country even if that country is headed by such monsters and cannibals as Hitler and Ribbentrop.

the lives and property of the inhabitants of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia.

The Byelorussians and Ukrainians living in Poland were bereft of rights. Their languages, culture and national customs were subjected to persecution. The Ukrainian and Byelorussian national schools had been suppressed and the majority of the inhabitants of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia were illiterate. Ukrainians and Byelorussians were barred from posts in the service of the state. In the eastern borderlands, called "kresy" by the Polish government, almost the entire land belonged to Polish landlords and the peasants possessed tiny plots of land which were barely enough to provide an existence of semi-starvation. Furthermore, the Polish government colonized these regions with "settlers," that is, Polish kulaks.

More than once the peasants of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia rose in revolt against the Polish gentry, but the Polish government sent punitive detachments into these regions and the revolts were suppressed with great cruelty.

The Polish government prevented the development of industry in the "kresy." Notwithstanding the immense natural wealth, industry in Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia was cut down, as the Polish government regarded the "kresy" merely as an agricultural and raw-material base for the industry of Poland proper. The workers in Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia suffered from unemployment, and the wages they received were only a half or even a third of those paid to workers in the central and western regions of Poland.

The conditions of the intelligentsia in these regions were also extremely hard. Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Jews were almost entirely barred from high schools and colleges, and even if some man-



Poster Illustrating the Meeting Between the Red Army and the Working People of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia

of the Soviet Union, and particularly of Leningrad with its three and a half million population."

The Finnish militarists, who had long been in contact with the German fascists and were egged on by anti-Soviet quarters in certain imperialist countries, commenced war against the Soviet Union. Despite the exceptional difficulties of the terrain and the temperature being 50° below zero Centigrade—the Red Army broke through the fortifications of the Karelian Isthmus, which had been built in conformity with the most up-to-date rules of military engineering and had been regarded as impregnable.

The White Finnish army was defeated, losing over half its manpower in killed and wounded.

The Finnish government was obliged to sue for peace.

On March 12, 1940, peace was signed with Finland. A new state frontier was drawn between the U.S.S.R. and Finland which ensured the security of Leningrad and Murmansk. The whole of the Karelian Isthmus with the city of Vyborg and Gulf of Vyborg, were incorporated in the U.S.S.R. The governments of Finland and the U.S.S.R. mutually engaged to refrain from aggression against each other and to take no part in any alliance directed against either of the contracting parties.

The peace treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Finland once again demonstrated what policy the Soviet Union pursued in relation to small countries. After routing the Finnish army, the Red Army could have occupied the whole of Finland and the U.S.S.R. could have demanded an indemnity to cover war expenditure; but the Soviet government showed its magnanimity by restricting itself to the minimum necessary to ensure the security of Leningrad and Murmansk.

On March 13, 1940, the Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopted a decision to transfer the incorporated territory to the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and to transform the latter into a Union Karlo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic. Thus, another Union Republic was added to the family of fraternal Union Republics. This was another step towards strengthening the multi-national socialist Soviet State.

The Peaceful Settlement of the Soviet-Rumanian Conflict over Bessarabia. Another extremely important victory for Stalin's peace policy was the peaceful settlement of the longstanding Soviet-Rumanian conflict over Bessarabia.

The Soviet government had never resigned itself to the forcible annexation of Bessarabia by Rumania, who occupied that country in 1918, when Soviet Russia was hard pressed by her foreign enemies. For over two decades the Moldavian people had been forcibly divided; on one side of the Dniester Soviet Moldavia flourished, but on the other side, Bessarabia, inhabited by Moldavians and Ukrainians, groaned under the heel of the Rumanian boyars. Rumania had converted Bes-

Lithuania, like the other Baltic countries, acquired national state independence as a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet government was the first to recognize the Lithuanian Republic. On July 12, 1920, a peace treaty was signed between the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and Lithuania, by which a large part of the former Vilna Gubernia, with the city of Vilna, passed to Lithuania. Vilna became the capital of the Lithuanian Republic.

From the moment it was formed, the Lithuanian Republic became the object of the intrigues of the European governments and, in particular, of the Polish government, which openly aimed at seizing Lithuania. In 1920, despite the signing of a Polish-Lithuanian treaty, Poland seized Vilna and the Vilna Region. The League of Nations sanctioned this act of aggression. The Soviet government alone supported Lithuania's protest and refused to recognize the legality of Poland's action.

Soviet-Lithuanian relations were based on the mutual respect of the interests of the two countries. On September 28, 1926, a Soviet-Lithuanian pact of non-aggression and peaceful settlement of disputes was signed. In 1934, this pact was prolonged for another ten years.

The Soviet Union had always strongly supported the Lithuanian Republic. In 1927, it averted war between Poland and Lithuania which was being provoked by reactionary Polish circles. In 1937, Polish troops were again concentrated on the Lithuanian frontier, and it was only the intervention of the U.S.S.R. which prevented this conflict from developing into a war between Poland and Lithuania.

The policy of peace and friendship which the Soviet Union pursued met with the profound satisfaction and gratitude of the working people of Lithuania, but the foreign imperialists tried to convert Lithuania into a *place d'armes* for war against the U.S.S.R. During the Sejm elections in 1926, the reactionary nationalist party headed by Smetona sustained utter defeat. After this, Smetona, backed by the landlords, the militarists and the Catholic clergy, carried out a military coup and established his dictatorship. The working people of Lithuania were subjected to a reign of tyranny and oppression. Smetona extended the landlord system and imposed an unbearable burden of taxation upon the small peasants. The Lithuanian people rose against Smetona's bloody regime time and time again. After war broke out between Germany and Poland the Soviet government, in October 1939, anxious to ensure the security of the Soviet and Lithuanian frontiers, invited the Lithuanian government to conclude a treaty of mutual assistance, and without compensation transferred to Lithuania the city of Vilna and the Vilna Region which had been liberated by the Red Army. Instead, however, of honestly abiding by Lithuania's treaty obligations, the Smetona clique plotted new acts of provocation against the Soviet Union.

Estonian-Soviet relations were governed by the peace treaty signed in the beginning of 1920, which caused the first breach in the Entente's blockade of the U.S.S.R. The Estonian bourgeoisie, however, had connections with countries that were hostile to the U.S.S.R., and on their instigation it more than once supported anti-Soviet adventures. In May 1922, the Estonian authorities in Reval executed the Estonian popular hero Victor Kingisepp, a member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and even sent a protest to the government of the U.S.S.R. for changing the name of the town of Yambur, near the Estonian frontier, to that of Kingisepp.

In 1924, the workers of Reval heroically rose in revolt against the reign of White terror in Estonia; the Estonian government used this as a pretext for launching another anti-Soviet campaign.

In 1925, the Estonian bourgeoisie, on the direct orders of the foreign imperialists, refused to conclude a trade agreement and guarantee treaty with the U.S.S.R. The Estonian government sabotaged the pact of mutual assistance that was concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Estonia on September 28, 1939. The Estonian governing clique entered into a military alliance with the other Baltic countries and began to prepare for war against the U.S.S.R. The vigilance of the Soviet government, however, frustrated these designs.

On June 21, 1940, the working people of Estonia swept away the warmongers and put a people's government in power. The elections to the Estonian State Duma that took place on July 14-15 resulted in a sweeping victory for the democratic elements. At the very first meeting of the Duma a resolution was unanimously adopted to proclaim Estonia a Soviet Republic and to affiliate the republic to the U.S.S.R.

At its meeting on August 6, 1940, the Seventh Session of the Supreme Soviet heard the statement of the plenipotentiary delegation from the Estonian Soviet Republic and unanimously accepted the republic into the Soviet Union as a Union Republic possessing equal rights with the others.

Chapter XVII

THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Hitler Germany's Perfidious Attack upon the U.S.S.R. While carrying out the immense tasks of the Third Stalin Five-Year Plan and firmly and undeviatingly pursuing a peace policy, the Soviet government did not for a moment lose sight of the possibility of the imperialists making another attack upon our country. When fascist Germany began openly to unleash war in Europe, Comrade Stalin

ler expected to win the war in a matter of two or three months. He based his calculations on the considerable numerical superiority of the German army, which had long been mobilized, was well armed and had already gained war experience. Hitler also calculated that the Soviet rear would prove unstable; he believed that the Soviet system would break down as a result of military reverses, that conflicts would break out between the workers and the peasants, and that national strife would break out among the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The monstrous war machine of the Hitler imperialists began its devastating drive in the Baltic countries, Byelorussia and the Ukraine, and threatened the vital centres of the Land of Soviets.

The U.S.S.R.'s War Against Germany, a War of Liberation. The Land of Soviets was in mortal peril, and in his radio address of July 3, 1941, Comrade Stalin warned the Soviet people of this. He called upon them to abandon the complacency and carelessness of peacetime, to rise up in defence of their motherland and the gains of the October Revolution, and to wage a patriotic war against the fascist invaders. In this historic address, Comrade Stalin clearly defined the character of the Great Patriotic War which the Soviet Union was waging as a just war for liberation. On the other hand he showed that Hitler Germany, which had launched a perfidious and predatory attack upon our country, was waging an unjust war of conquest. He exposed the predatory designs of the Hitlerites and warned that a victory for Germany would mean enslavement and oppression for the peoples of the U.S.S.R. "The enemy is cruel and implacable," he said. "He is out to seize our lands which have been watered by the sweat of our brow, to seize our grain and oil which have been obtained by the labour of our hands. He is out to restore the rule of the landlords, to restore tsarism, to destroy the national culture and the national existence as states of the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Moldavians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians and the other free peoples of the Soviet Union, to Germanize them, to convert them into the slaves of German princes and barons. Thus, the issue is one of life and death for the Soviet State, of life and death for the peoples of the U.S.S.R., of whether the peoples of the Soviet Union shall be free or fall into slavery" (J. Stalin, *On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Moscow, 1946, p. 13).

Comrade Stalin pointed out that the war against Hitler Germany must not be regarded as an ordinary war. It was not only a war between two armies, he said; it was a nation-wide patriotic war against the fascist oppressors, the object of which was not only to remove the danger that was hovering over our country, but also to help all the peoples of Europe who were groaning under the yoke of German fascism.

a parade of German troops to be held on the Red Square on November 7. The Soviet Army, however, frustrated this insane plan of the Hitlerites.

At the very outset of the war a State Committee for Defence, headed by Comrade Stalin, was set up. Under the direction of this Committee the entire country began actively to put itself on a war footing. A general mobilization and training of replenishments for the Soviet Army was undertaken. The armament industry was expanded. Whole plants were transported from the regions threatened by invasion eastwards to Siberia, the Urals and Central Asia. The inhabitants of Moscow formed people's volunteer units to repel the enemy. Over 120,000 Moscow volunteers were formed into new divisions which constituted a powerful barrier against the enemy's advance upon the capital. Within a short space of time tens of thousands of Moscow citizens encircled the city with strong defence lines. A state of siege was proclaimed in Moscow. The defence of the capital was directed by Comrade Stalin in person.

On November 6, 1941, at the moment when the enemy was fighting his way towards Moscow, Comrade Stalin delivered an address at a meeting of the Moscow Soviet on the occasion of the 24th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In his speech he enumerated the causes of the Soviet Army's temporary reverses, showed how the evil designs of the enemy had collapsed and drew the conclusion that the defeat of the German imperialists and their armies was inevitable. He depicted the prospects of the war and pointed to the three main factors which would lead to the inevitable defeat of the Hitlerite imperialists. The first factor, he said, was the instability of the European rear of imperialist Germany, against whom all the peoples of Europe enslaved by the Germans would inevitably rise. The second factor was the instability of the German rear itself, which would be more and more shaken as Hitler's army sustained defeat. The third factor was the establishment and strengthening of the fighting coalition of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States against the German fascist imperialists.

Taking all these factors into account, Comrade Stalin forecast an inevitable turn in the whole course of the war in favour of the Soviet Union and its Allies.

Next day, November 7, 1941, Comrade Stalin spoke at the Soviet Army parade on the Red Square. Recalling the fighting traditions of the great ancestors of the Russian people, he called upon the men and commanders of the Soviet Army and the Soviet Navy to follow their example in this heroic struggle for the freedom and independence of our Soviet Motherland. He said: "Let the heroic images of our great forebears—Alexander Nevsky, Dimitri Donskoi, Kuzma Minin, Dimitri Pozharsky, Alexander Suvorov and Mikhail Kutuzov—inspire you



Supreme Commander-in-Chief,
Generalissimo of the Soviet Union,
JOSEPH VISSARIONOVICH STALIN

in its struggle against Hitler Germany, and at dragging out, at all costs, the military operations in progress on the Soviet-German Front.

Taking advantage of the absence of a second front, the Hitlerites, in the beginning of May 1942, launched another offensive. Scores of German divisions were withdrawn from the Western Front and brought into action on the Soviet-German Front. After capturing Kerch, the Hitlerites resumed the assault on Sevastopol. The defence of Sevastopol lasted 250 days. The sailors of the Black Sea Fleet defended the city with unprecedented valour.

When the battle of Sevastopol was at its height, Comrade Stalin sent greetings to its defenders in which he said: "The self-sacrificing struggle waged by the defenders of Sevastopol sets an example of heroism to the entire Red Army and the Soviet people."

The Battle of Stalingrad. In the summer of 1942, the Hitlerites, having established a considerable numerical superiority of forces on the southwestern direction of the Soviet-German Front, achieved important tactical successes and reached the region of Voronezh, Stalingrad and Novorossiisk. Hitler still regarded as his main objective the capture of Moscow, but this time his intention was to outflank the capital on the east and cut it off from the rear areas of the Volga and the Urals. Especial importance in Hitler's new plans was attached to the capture of Stalingrad, which was of enormous strategical significance. Situated at the junction of vital water and railway communications, it linked the centres of the country with the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, with Astrakhan and Baku and with the Volga area and the Eastern Regions of the U.S.S.R. Stalingrad was also a vital arsenal which supplied the Soviet Army with tanks and other weapons.

The Hitler High Command hurled against Stalingrad their Sixth Army, under the command of General von Paulus, who had gained fame by his victories in Europe. Over 1,500 guns shelled the city from every side. Many thousands of aeroplanes dropped high-explosive and incendiary bombs on it every day.

Stalingrad staunchly and bravely repelled the vicious onslaughts of the enemy. The workers at the Stalingrad Tractor Plant, and at the other plants in the city, continued to work under enemy fire, supplying the city's defenders with tanks and ammunition. An active part in the defence of Stalingrad was played by heroes of the Civil War who had taken part in the valiant defence of Tsaritsyn (as Stalingrad was then called) under the personal direction of Comrade Stalin.

The entire country went to the aid of Stalingrad. Everybody was aware that the outcome of the battle of Stalingrad would determine the fate of our motherland. The heroic defence of the city enabled the Supreme Command of the Soviet Army to muster reserves and

In the spring of 1943, a temporary lull in military operations set in. Both sides made preparations for decisive battles. The Hitlerites mustered forces for another big offensive. In Germany "total" mobilization was proclaimed, and the number of German divisions on the Soviet-German Front was brought up to 257. The industry of occupied Europe worked at top speed manufacturing weapons for the German army.

At the beginning of the summer of 1943, the Germans launched an offensive against the salient that had been formed at Kursk as a result of the Soviet Army's offensive during the preceding winter in the region of the Orel-Kursk-Belgorod Railway. The Germans' plan was to strike from two directions—from their Orel *place d'armes* in the North, and the region of Belgorod in the South—surround and annihilate the Soviet troops that were concentrated inside the Kursk salient, and then commence a drive against Moscow. To carry out this plan, the Germans concentrated on a relatively short front seventeen tank and eighteen infantry divisions and a vast number of aircraft. Never before had such a huge quantity of the weapons of war been brought into action as in the battle of Kursk. The density of armaments amounted to 100 to 150 tanks and 100 to 200 guns per kilometre. Notwithstanding this, the Germans failed to pierce the Soviet Front. The Soviet Army had organized a deeply echeloned defence and the Soviet artillery exterminated the enemy's "Tigers" and "Ferdinands."

After wearing down the main forces of the German fascist army and bleeding them white, the Soviet Army undertook the offensive in its turn. On August 5, 1943, exactly a month after the Germans had launched their offensive, the Soviet Army captured Orel and Belgorod, thus liquidating the enemy's fortified bridgehead at Orel, the most powerful and dangerous one for our country at that time, and which the Hitlerite High Command had anticipated using for another offensive against Moscow.

The battles of Kursk, Orel and Belgorod marked the opening of the Red Army's powerful summer offensive. The Soviet troops made a drive for Kharkov, and on August 23, 1943, the city was liberated from the German invaders. At the same time operations were commenced for the liberation of the Donetz Basin. On September 8, 1943, Stalino was liberated as the result of an impetuous assault. The German High Command attempted to halt the advance of the Soviet troops at the water's edge at the River Desna, and particularly at the River Dnieper; but the Soviet Army successfully forced the Desna, and later the upper reaches of the Dnieper, and on September 25, 1943, liberated Smolensk, a most important German strategical centre of defence in the western direction.

The Soviet Army's summer offensive culminated in stubborn

of the Finns, laid siege to the city. Completely blockaded, the inhabitants of Leningrad suffered hunger and cold. Day after day the Germans battered the residential quarters from the heavy long-range guns with which they had encircled the city. But neither starvation, artillery bombardment, nor daily bombing from the air could crush the heroic spirit of the defenders of the city of Lenin.

In January 1943, the Soviet troops on the Leningrad and Volkhov Fronts broke through the blockade. The food situation in the heroic city considerably improved. But the Germans, building several belts of strong fortifications around the city, continued the siege. On January 14, 1944, after thorough preparation, the troops on the Leningrad Front launched a determined offensive with the object of completely liberating Leningrad. The Germans were hurled into Estonia. The Soviet Army was thus enabled to commence a drive in the Baltic Regions and in Finland.

At the end of January 1944, the Soviet Army undertook an offensive with the object of liberating Ukrainian territory west of the Dnieper. In the Korsun-Shevchenkovsky Region, Soviet troops surrounded and wiped out ten divisions and one brigade of the enemy. Early in the spring of 1944, in spite of the spring thaw and the thick layer of sticky mud that covered the roads, the Soviet Army launched an offensive with the object of completely liberating the Ukraine west of the Dnieper. Pursuing the retreating Germans the Soviet Army surrounded large and small enemy forces and wiped them out. The enemy lost a great deal of his manpower and materiel in this way.

After forcing the Dniester, the Soviet Army entered Moldavia, and on March 26, 1944, after a swift drive, reached the river Pruth, the frontier between the U.S.S.R. and Rumania. In the beginning of April the Soviet troops defeated the Germans in the foothills of the Carpathians and reached the frontier between the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia. Thus, the war was carried across the frontiers of our country.

After routing the German troops in Right-Bank Ukraine, the Soviet Army proceeded to liberate the Crimea. The Germans had tried to keep the Crimea as a base for another drive into the Kuban Region; moreover, their occupation of the Crimea imperiled the existence of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet. The Hitlerites had strongly fortified Perekop, the gate to the Crimea, and had transformed the region of Sevastopol into a powerful fortress.

The fighting to liberate the Crimea began on April 8, 1944. After forcing the Sivash Shallows, the Soviet Army drove into the interior of the Crimea. The remnants of the defeated German fascist troops fortified themselves in Sevastopol. On May 7, the Soviet Army launched an assault upon the Sevastopol fortress, and after three days of fierce fighting Sevastopol was liberated. The liberation of the Crimea changed

aggravated the military, economic and political situation for fascist Germany.

The Anti-Hitler Coalition is Strengthened. Faced with disaster, Hitler Germany exerted all efforts to disrupt the united front of the Allies who were fighting against her. After the "blitzkrieg" failed the Hitlerites based all their strategy on the prolongation of the war and on preventing the cementation of the alliance and friendship between the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States. The vital interests of all the freedom-loving peoples, however, called for the speedy and complete defeat of the armed forces of fascist Germany and of her vassals.

For the purpose of discussing concrete measures to bring about the speedy termination of the war a conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union was held in Moscow in October 1943. This Moscow Conference drew up the measures necessary for shortening the war against Germany and her allies, and formulated the basic principles upon which a system of international co-operation and security was to be established. The conference expressed itself in favour of restoring the freedom and independence of Austria, and stressed the necessity of creating a democratic government in Italy. It also adopted a declaration to the effect that the Hitlerites would be called to book for the atrocities they had committed. This declaration was published over the signatures of Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill.

A month later, in November 1943, the leaders of the Three Powers—J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, and Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain—met in Teheran. The Teheran Conference adopted a "Declaration of the Three Powers" which expressed unanimous determination to crush Hitler Germany and ensure peace and security for the peoples. The leaders of the Three Powers who signed this declaration stated: "We express our determination that our nations shall work together in war and in the peace that will follow." As regards the Allies' war plans, the declaration emphasized their firm determination to strike Hitler Germany the final blow and demolish her armed forces on land, on sea, and in the air. The leaders of the Allied Powers reached complete agreement on the scope and timing of the operations to be undertaken against Hitler Germany.

In the succeeding period, however, Churchill, bent on satisfying the mercenary interests of British imperialism, resorted to all sorts of devices to hold up the opening of the second front, and to inflict as much damage as possible on our state.

The Soviet Army's victories were a decisive factor in ensuring the Allies' military successes in North Africa and in Italy; and the

to death, hanged and tortured Soviet people in thousands. The collective farms in the occupied regions were broken up and the land was given to German landlords and kulaks. The collective farmers, driven off their land, were compelled to work for the new landlords, or else were driven off to Germany to work like galley slaves. Millions perished as a result of the unbearable toil which the German conquerors forced upon them. The Germans destroyed the finest monuments of Russian national culture. They wrecked the estate of the great Russian author Leo Tolstoy at Yasnaya Polyana, the home of the great Russian composer Chaikovsky in Klin, and the house of the famous Russian author Chekhov in Taganrog, all of which had been converted into museums. They also defiled great relics connected with the name of Pushkin, and so on.

As early as 1941, Comrade Stalin had said that the "new order" in Europe was a volcano which was ready to erupt at any moment. The enslaved peoples of Europe were only waiting for the opportunity to rise up against their enslavers. It was the liberating mission of the Soviet Army to help the peoples of Europe in their struggle to free themselves from Hitler tyranny. As the Soviet Army neared the frontiers of the U.S.S.R., the peoples of all the countries that were occupied by the Germans rose to wage a general struggle for liberation against the invaders.

The Soviet Army came to their aid. As soon as it crossed the Rumanian-Yugoslav frontier, it rendered substantial assistance to the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, who had been heroically fighting the Germans from the very first day the latter invaded their country. On October 20, 1944, the Soviet Army, jointly with the People's Liberation Army liberated Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia. In the beginning of 1945, the Soviet Army helped our ally Poland to liberate a number of important Polish towns, and on January 14, 1945, Soviet troops, in conjunction with the First Polish Army, liberated Warsaw, the long-suffering capital of the Polish Republic. The Soviet Army also rendered considerable assistance to the freedom-loving peoples of Czechoslovakia who had been resisting the German invaders all the time. Thus, the Soviet Army carried out its liberating mission in relation to all the peoples of Europe and helped them to throw off the yoke of the German tyrants.

The Heroic Struggle Waged by the Soviet Partisans. An extremely important part in the war against the Hitler robbers was played by the patriotic Soviet partisans who operated in all the Soviet regions that were temporarily occupied by the Germans. In the radio address he delivered on July 3, 1941, Comrade Stalin called upon all the Soviet people in the occupied regions to make conditions "unbearable for the enemy and all his accomplices." "They must be hounded and annihilated at every step, and all their measures must be frustrated,"

metres of railway lines, thus hindering the retreat of the Germans and facilitating their pursuit by the Soviet Army. They also saved Soviet civilians from extermination or from being driven off into slavery in fascist Germany. They liberated prisoners and restored to the civilian inhabitants the property which the Germans had plundered.

During the course of the Great Patriotic War the partisan detachments wiped out hundreds of thousands of Hitlerites, wrecked innumerable German trains, blew up thousands of railway and road bridges and destroyed thousands of tanks, armoured cars, guns, motor trucks and aircraft.

The outstanding partisan leaders Sidor Kovpak, A. F. Fyodorov, P. Vershigora and others were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

Before the war S. A. Kovpak was the chairman of the Soviet of the small Ukrainian town of Putivl. When the Germans occupied the town, Kovpak and a comrade named Rudnev organized a partisan detachment which became famous all over the Ukraine. In 1942, Kovpak and other partisan leaders were called to Moscow to see Stalin, and there it was decided to organize a partisan raid deep into the interior of the Ukraine west of the Dnieper for the purpose of rousing the people to fight the Germans and of striking at the enemy's communications. Kovpak's detachments conducted devastating warfare on a large scale in Carpathian Ukraine where, among other things, they destroyed several oil refining plants and over 50,000 tons of oil. To combat Kovpak's partisan detachments the Germans drew troops from Galicia and Hungary, but the partisans broke through the enemy encirclement and returned to the Ukraine.

All the Soviet people who had temporarily fallen under the fascist yoke waged a heroic struggle in the enemy's rear. The Germans tried to break the spirit of resistance of the Soviet patriots by means of frightful atrocities, but to no avail. An example of this heroic resistance is provided by the struggle that was waged by the Young Communist Leaguers in Krasnodon. In this small mining town an underground Young Communist League organization was formed which called itself the "Young Guard." This organization, which was led by seventeen-year-old Oleg Koshevoi, set out to wage an uncompromising struggle against the German invaders. The "Young Guard" distributed leaflets, repeatedly destroyed lists of names of people who had been marked off for deportation to Germany, and liberated prisoners from concentration camps. Owing to treachery and trickery the Young Guard organization was discovered by the Gestapo and its members were arrested. The Germans subjected these young heroes of underground warfare to frightful torture, but not one of them betrayed weakness or cowardice. Failing to break their spirit, the inhuman

of the war, had achieved decisive successes in the mass production of arms, ammunition, equipment and provisions for the Red Army.

Equally self-sacrificing was the effort exerted by the collective-farm peasantry to bring about victory over the German fascist invaders. During the Great Patriotic War collective farmers, men and women, displayed an understanding of the interests of the State that reached a high level. By their intense labours they ensured regular supplies of food and raw materials for the Soviet Army and the country as a whole. The women collective farmers proved to be a great force in the countryside. For example, in the Ryazan Region, the women's tractor team led by Darya Garmash showed record results all through the war of area covered per tractor. The All-Union contest between women's tractor teams begun on her initiative was of great benefit to her native land. The young people in the collective farms were pioneers in introducing new methods of labour into agriculture and thus increasing output.

The Soviet intelligentsia too made a priceless contribution to the cause of victory, boldly resorting to innovations in the spheres of technology and culture, developing science, and applying its achievements to the manufacture of weapons for the Soviet Army. Soviet physicists, chemists, mathematicians, medical men and other scientists achieved great success in their respective spheres, and employed their achievements to help bring about the defeat of the enemy. Academicians Burdenko, Abrikosov, Orbeli, Bogomolets and Lena Stern achieved wonderful results in the field of medicine and thus saved the lives of innumerable wounded fighters. Academicians Bardin and Baikov, by their researches in the field of metallurgy, helped to develop Soviet industry still further. Academicians Lysenko, Tsitsin, Pryanishnikov and others, devised new methods of increasing agricultural output. The botanists, Academicians Komarov and Keller, and the geologists, Academicians Fersman, Obruchev and others, worked very hard during the Patriotic War to develop further the natural resources of the U.S.S.R. As a result of the labours of Soviet scientists immense deposits of ores and various other valuable minerals were discovered. The Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and the Academies of Sciences of the Union Republics achieved great successes in all branches of science.

The entire Soviet people displayed exceptional solicitude for the needs of the Soviet Army. One of the manifestations of this was the broad popular movement for the collection of contributions for the Soviet Army Fund. At the end of 1942, when the battle of Stalingrad was at its height, the collective farmers in the Tambov Region within a few days collected a considerable sum of money to build tanks. The example of the Tambov collective farmers was followed by collective farmers all over the country. On the initiative of F. P. Golovaty, a collective farmer in the Saratov Region, many collective

The Crimea Conference also adopted a "Declaration on Liberated Europe" which proclaimed the principle that the Three Powers would co-ordinate their policies and adopt joint decisions on the major political and economic questions concerning liberated Europe.

The united action of the Allies ensured their victory over Germany. The military situation became catastrophic for the latter. As a result of the onslaughts of the Soviet Army, which had pushed into German Silesia in the south and into East Prussia and Pomerania in the east and north, the German forces retreated into the interior of Germany. The Soviet Army's uninterrupted offensive resulted in the defeat of the Koenigsberg group of German troops. On April 9, 1945, the Soviet Army stormed and captured the city of Koenigsberg. Several days later, on April 13, the Soviet Army liberated Vienna, the capital of Austria.

The road to Berlin was open for the Soviet Army. The Germans hurled all their reserves against it. The Soviet assault on Berlin was launched simultaneously from different directions. On the night of April 19, tens of thousands of guns opened fire on the city. By order of Marshal Zhukov, the Soviet Army launched a sudden night attack. After artillery preparation, thousands of tanks made a drive for Berlin; about 5,000 aircraft rained bombs on the German positions. On April 21, the Soviet troops, after breaking through the defences of Berlin, engaged the enemy in its suburbs. The ring closed tighter and tighter around the city. At last the forward units forced their way to the centre of Berlin and hoisted the Red flag over the German Reichstag. The Order of the Day of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief Comrade Stalin of May 2, 1945, contained the long-awaited announcement: "The Red Army has captured Berlin."

While the Soviet Army's assault on Berlin was at its height, the Allied troops were rapidly advancing through German territory, meeting with no resistance on the part of the Germans. In an endeavour to cause a split in the ranks of the Allies the Germans offered to surrender to the United States and Great Britain, but refused to capitulate to the Soviet Union.

But this time too the German fascist manoeuvre failed. The Allies demanded unconditional surrender from Germany. On May 8, 1945, the leaders of Germany's armed forces signed an act of unconditional surrender. The Germans reported the suicide of Hitler, Goebbels and of other of Hitler's accomplices. The rest of the rulers of the fascist state, including Goering and Field Marshal Keitel, were arrested and delivered up to an International Tribunal, which tried the major war criminals in Nuremberg.

On May 9, 1945, Comrade Stalin issued an address to the people announcing that the great day of victory over Germany had arrived. In this address Comrade Stalin said: "We now have full grounds for

Japan. On September 2, 1945, unable to continue the war any longer, the Japanese capitulated and the Soviet people were able to present to the Japanese aggressors their just demand for retribution.

Commenting on the capitulation of imperialist Japan, Comrade Stalin said: "We of the older generation waited for this day for forty years, and now this day has arrived. Today Japan admitted defeat and signed an act of unconditional surrender.

"This means that the southern part of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands revert to the Soviet Union and henceforth will serve not as a barrier between the Soviet Union and the ocean and a base for Japanese attack upon our Far East, but as a direct means of communication between the Soviet Union and the ocean and a base for the defence of our country against Japanese aggression.

"Our Soviet people spared neither strength nor labour for the sake of victory. We experienced extremely hard years. But now every one of us can say: We have won. Henceforth we can regard our country as being free from the menace of German invasion in the West and of Japanese invasion in the East. The long-awaited peace for the peoples of all the world has come" (*J. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Moscow, 1946, pp. 209-10).

The Causes and the Sources of the Victory of the Soviet Union. The victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War roused the admiration of all progressive mankind. The whole world recognized the great merits of the Soviet Army, which by its heroic and self-sacrificing struggle had saved world civilization from the German fascist barbarians and the Japanese imperialists. The Soviet Army stood before the whole world as an army of liberation, and the Soviet Union as the saviour of civilization and progress in Europe and throughout the world.

What was the source of the Soviet Army's great victory?

The Soviet Army was able successfully to perform its duty to its country and carry out its liberating mission in relation to the peoples of Europe primarily because it received the devoted support of all the peoples of the Soviet Union; because its victory was ensured by the entire state and social system of our country.

As Comrade Stalin emphasized in the speech he delivered on February 9, 1946, the victory of the U.S.S.R. signifies first of all, that the Soviet social system was victorious and had successfully passed the test of the fire of war and proved that it is fully viable; secondly, the victory of the U.S.S.R. signifies that our Soviet state system was victorious, that our multi-national Soviet State passed all the tests of the war and proved its viability; thirdly, the victory of the U.S.S.R. signifies that the Soviet armed forces, the Soviet Army, was victorious, the Soviet Army which had heroically withstood all the hardships of the war and had routed most powerful enemies.

Soviet heroes have now become legendary. Such, for example, is the immortal name of Captain Gustello, who in the first days of the war sent his burning aeroplane hurtling down upon an enemy supply column; such is the name of Hero of the Soviet Union, Guardsman Alexander Matrosov, who with his body blocked the embrasure of a pillbox, the continuous firing from which was hindering the advance of attacking Soviet Army forces; such are the names of the twenty-eight guardsmen of Panfilov's Division, who gave their last drop of blood in defence of their positions near Moscow; such are the names of the sixteen guardsmen who at the cost of their lives repulsed the fierce attack of twelve enemy tanks at a decisive moment in the enemy's offensive at Stalingrad. The entire Soviet people reveres the memory of Heroes of the Soviet Union, members of the Young Communist League, Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, Liza Chaikina, Sasha Chekalin and Victor Talalikhin, of the girl snipers Natasha Kovshova and Maria Polivanova, of the young Krasnodon heroes headed by Oleg Koshevoi, and of many others like them.

The victory of the Soviet armed forces was also ensured by the Soviet military art and the wise strategy of Stalin. Generalissimo of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin, trained splendid Generals of a new type like Zhukov, Konev, Vasilevsky, Tolbukhin, Govorov, Vatutin, Antonov and others, who proved themselves outstanding front commanders and everywhere successfully applied the Stalinist science and art of war in all their strength and might.

Lastly, the Soviet Army was victorious because the organizer and inspirer of its liberating struggle was the leader of the peoples, the greatest of strategists and generals, Comrade Stalin. It was with the name of Stalin on their lips that the Soviet people went into battle, and with it they emerged victorious.

The Five-Year Plan for the Restoration and Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R. The historic victories which the Soviet people achieved in the Great Patriotic War enabled the U.S.S.R. to pass back to peacetime socialist construction. On February 10, 1946, the Soviet people, with splendid unanimity, elected new Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. which was to pass measures to promote the immense task of post-war restoration. The people's first candidate, Comrade Stalin, in the historic speech he delivered on February 9, 1946 at a meeting of voters in the Stalin District of Moscow, revealed to the Soviet people wide prospects of further development of the Land of Socialism, of a tremendous advance in the economic and cultural development of our country, of the consolidation of the economic and military might of the Soviet State and of an increase in the well-being of the masses of the people.

Stalin's views on the post-war restoration and further development of the Soviet State were embodied in a new Five-Year Plan which

PRINCIPAL DATES IN THE HISTORY OF THE U.S.S.R. (1894-1946)

1894-1917	Reign of Nicholas II
1895	The League of the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class is formed in S. Petersburg
1897-1900	Lenin is in exile
1898, March	The First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. is held in Minsk
1900-1903	Period of Lenin's <i>Iskra</i>
1902	Demonstration takes place in Batum under the leadership of Comrade Stalin
1903, July-August	The Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. is held
1904-1905	Russo-Japanese War
1905, January 9 (22).	Bloody Sunday—The beginning of the revolution
1905, April	The Third Congress of the Party is held
1905, May	Battle of Tsushima
1905, June	Revolt on the battleship <i>Potemkin</i>
1905, October	The All-Russian general political strike takes place
1905, October 17.	Nicholas II issues Manifesto
1905, December	Armed insurrection in Moscow
1906, April	The Fourth Congress of the Party is held
1906, April-July	The First State Duma meets
1906, November	The Stolypin agrarian law is passed
1907, February-June	The Second State Duma meets
1907, May	The Fifth Congress of the Party is held
1907, July	The Third of June <i>coup d'état</i> is carried out
1907, November	Opening of the Third State Duma (1907-1912)
1912	The Prague (Sixth) Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) is held
1912, April 4 (17).	The workers are shot down in the Lena Gold Fields
1912, April 22 (May 5)	The First issue of <i>Pravda</i> appears
1912, November	Opening of Fourth State Duma (1912-1917)
1914, August	The First World War commences
1914, November	The Bolshevik members of the Fourth State Duma are arrested

- 1919, March The Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) is held.
Adopts program. Passes resolution on the attitude
to be taken towards the middle peasants
- 1919, April-May . . . Kolchak offensive and its defeat (first Entente
campaign)
- 1919, May-October . . Denikin offensive and its defeat in conformity with
Comrade Stalin's plan (second Entente campaign)
- 1919, June-July . . . Stalin directs defence of Petrograd against Yude-
nich
- 1919, October-Novem-
ber Yudenich is defeated near Petrograd
- 1920, March-April . . The Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) is held
- 1920, March-November Period of the struggle against Wrangel
- 1920, November . . . The storming of Perekop and the rout of Wrangel
- 1921, March Peace treaty with Poland is signed in Riga.
The Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) is held.
Adopts decision to go over to New Economic
Policy
- 1922, March-April . . The Eleventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) is held
- 1922, April J. V. Stalin is elected General Secretary of the Cen-
tral Committee of the R.C.P.(B.)
- 1922, December 30. . The U.S.S.R. is formed
- 1922, February-Novem-
ber The Russian Far East is liberated from Japanese
interventionists
- 1923, April The Twelfth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) is held
- 1924, January 21 . . Death of V. I. Lenin
- 1924, January The Second All-Union Congress of Soviets adopts
Constitution of the U.S.S.R.
- 1924, April Comrade Stalin's work *The Foundations of
Leninism* appears
- 1924, May. The Thirteenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) is
held
- 1925, April The Fourteenth Conference of the C.P.S.U.(B.) is
held. The national economy of the U.S.S.R.
reaches pre-war level
- 1925, December . . . The Fourteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), the
Industrialization Congress, is held
- 1926, October-Novem-
ber The Fifteenth Conference of the C.P.S.U.(B.) is
held
- 1927, December . . . The Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), the
Collectivization of Agriculture Congress, is held
- 1928-1932. First Five-Year Plan period
- 1929 The Year of Great Change
- 1929, July. The conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway

- 1940, August 5. . . The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic is accepted into the U.S.S.R.
1940, August 6. . . The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic is accepted into the U.S.S.R.
1941, June 22. . . Germany perfidiously attacks the U.S.S.R.
1941, December. . . The Germans are defeated near Moscow
1942, December. . . The German armies are defeated near Stalingrad
1943, July. . . The Battle of Kursk is fought
1945, May 2. . . The Red Army captures Berlin
1945, May 8. . . Unconditional surrender of Germany
1945, August 9. . . The Soviet Union declares war on Japan
1945, September 2. . . Unconditional surrender of Japan
1946, February 10. . General election of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Second Convocation, takes place.